

THE
ROMAN
HISTORY,

FROM THE
Settlement of the Empire

BY
AUGUSTUS CÆSAR,

To the Removal of the Imperial Seat by

Constantine the Great.

Containing the space of 355 Tears.

V O L. II.

For the Use of His Highness the

DUKE of GLOCESTER.

By LAURENCE ECHARD, A. M. Prebendary
of *Lincoln*, and Chaplain to the Right Reverend
James, Lord Bishop of that Diocese.

L O N D O N,

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Church-yard; and A. Parker in Church-yard.

TO
His Highness
THE
Most Illustrious Prince
WILLIAM,
Duke of Gloucester.



S I R,

THE great Incouragement
Your Highness gave to the
First Part of my *Roman*
History, by reading it with Delight
and Improvement, makes me pre-
sume, that this will not be unac-
ceptable: Especially since it con-
tains such Variety of extraordinary
Examples, fit for the Instruction of
Princes; such Miracles of Vertue,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

as well as Prodigies of Vice ; and such amazing Consequences of both, as are scarcely to be found in any other History. Of all those Emperors that I present to Your Highness, the greater Part must be acknowledg'd to have been notoriously culpable both in their Governments and their Morals ; and of those Forty which compose the Body of this History, Twenty Seven were brought to unnatural Deaths. Yet these will afford matter of great Caution and Instruction to young Princes ; their Misfortunes being almost all owing to their own Mismanagements ; their devoting themselves to the dazzling Charms of Rule and Empire ; and their giving a full Loose to their exorbitant Passions, and insatiable Appetites. By these Examples Your Highness may learn the deplorable and fatal Mischiefs of a boundless Tyranny ; what Flames it raises on Earth, and what Punishments it draws down from

The Epistle Dedicatory.

from Heaven. By these may be discover'd various Steps of the divine Providence pursuing the Tyrants with inevitable Vengeance, and Chastising them and their Progeny with the extreamest Miseries and Calamities: And tho' they sometimes were for a while triumphant in their enormous Proceedings, yet all their Power and Authority cou'd not preserve them from the Hatred of their Subjects, or from the Treasons of their greatest Confidents, and most oblig'd Favourites; nor cou'd all their numerous Forces secure them from violent and unnatural Deaths; which were often accompany'd with the most barbarous and ignominious Usage; sometimes with the Extirpation of their whole Race and Families, and ever with the utter Ruin of their Fame and Memory to all succeeding Generations.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

On the contrary, Your Highness will find that the Reigns of the good Emperors and Governours, such as *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Trajan*, and the two *Antonines*, were constantly attended with the greatest Prosperity and Felicity : Their Actions were Noble and Successful ; their Deaths Natural and Glorious ; and their Memories so dear and precious to their Subjects, that they cou'd not refrain from Idolizing and Placing these Princes in a Rank above all other Mortals. And tho', when the Empire declin'd, and became almost incurably corrupted by ill Princes and Tyrants, Heaven permitted two or three of the good Emperors, namely, *Alexander*, *Gordian*, and *Probus*, to fall by the irreclaimable Insolence of the Soldiers : Yet this is still very observable, that tho' by Reason of wicked Predecessors, and such Accidents as rarely happen in
the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the World, these few good Princes were brought to untimely Ends; yet we find not one of the bad Emperors that escap'd; unless we may except *Severus*, whose noble Service to the State and Government, exempts him, in a great measure, from that Name and Rank.

These are Considerations of the highest Importance to the Happiness of a Prince and his Subjects; and therefore, I hope they may vindicate my Presumption in offering this Book to Your Highness's Patronage; which, notwithstanding I wou'd not have attempted, without particular Leave and Encouragement. Your Highness has made a Progress far above Your Age, in Literature and Humanity; and those extraordinary Improvements have rais'd the Nation's Hopes, and given it a mighty Expectation and Satisfaction. And

The Epistle Dedicatory.

that Your Highness's Proceedings may continually answer these promising Beginnings, is undoubtedly the Prayers of all good Men, and can be no less of Him, who is, with all possible Respect,

Your Highness's,

most obedient and

devoted Servant,

Laurence Echard.

THE

THE PREFACE.

IN the Writing of this second Volume, I had all the Way some Regard to that young Prince to whom it is Dedicated; yet I took such particular Care, that it might be of the same general Use with the first Part, and have endeavour'd, as much as possible, to make it of a Piece with that. As the first was a Series of 727 Years, to the compleat Establishment of the Roman Empire; so this is a Series of 355 Years from thence, to the Removal of the Imperial Seat, which was a principal Cause of its Ruine; and carry'd down in the same Manner and Method, so far as was consistent with the Subject and Materials. In this I have also interwoven some Ecclesiastical Affairs, such as the ten general Persecutions of the Church, and some other Matters, which are not foreign, but
make

The Preface.

make up a Material Part of the Roman History.

The Authors I us'd for the Composing of this Piece, were principally Dion-Cassius, Josephus, Eusebius, Herodian, and Zozimus, among the Greeks; and Tacitus, Suetonius, those Authors call'd The Augustæ Scriptores, and several Epitomizers, such as Florus, Lætus, Victor, and Eutropius, among the Latines. Out of these and some others, I have made as Regular a Story as I could; tho' I sometimes met with great Difficulties, by Reason of the Courseness and Sterility of many Parts of my Materials, which together with the Strangeness of the Subject, have often oblig'd me to descend from the Quality of a Historian, to that of a Biographer. The Reigns of some of the Emperors were so monstrously Wicked, and so extravagantly Inconsistent, that it was very hard to treat them either with Decency or Gravity: And for this Suetonius and the Augustine Writers have been justly blam'd, for mixing too much Lewdness as well as Meanness in their Writings. I have likewise examin'd several Modern Authors

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thors of this Kind, and have made use of them, whensoever I judg'd them for the Benefit of my Reader; and of these I am most oblig'd to Pedro Mexia, a Spanish Author, long since Translated into our Tongue. But I have not had any Advantage from the French Historians, nor made any use of them, tho' I am inform'd that some have writ very finely and ingeniously upon this Subject: And this was partly by Reason of my Unskillfulness in their Language, and partly my being unacquainted with their lax and diffusive Way of Writing History.

As to the Stile, I have endeavour'd to make it plain and intelligible, and withal grave and nervous, free from mean and low Expressions, as well as too many Flourishes: And tho' I believe that it is generally more correct and pure, than the first Impression of the other Parts, yet I dare not pronounce it Faultless. Nor had I time to bestow my utmost Pains upon it in all Places, especially towards the latter End.

I will not detain the Reader any longer, but only entreat his Pardon for small Errors and Faults, if he finds any; for the
greatest

The Preface.

greatest part of this Book was writ in an obscure Place, where I labour'd under many Inconveniencies, both as to Books and Opportunities of Studying. However I doubt not but it will Merit as favourable a Reception as the former Part.

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Containing the Space of 121 Years.

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THE
Roman History.

V O L. II.

BOOK I.

*From the Perfect Settlement of the Empire
by Augustus, to the End of the Twelve
CÆSARS.*

Containing the space of 121 Years.

C H A P. I.

*From the full Settlement of the Roman Em-
pire, to the Death of Augustus; in whose
Reign the State and Form of the Empire was
in its greatest Perfection.*

Containing the space of near 41 Years.

I. **T**HE Affairs of Rome were never in
a more peaceable and flourishing
Condition, than at the time when
Augustus Cæsar took upon him the
sole Administration of the Government; whether
it be consider'd in relation to Foreign Wars or

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Domestick Troubles. As the Temple of *Janus* was still kept shut, so the Soldiers chief Concern was the reaping the Fruits of their former Conquests; and as all private Pretensions to Government were excluded by this New Settlement, so the secret Practices and ambitious Designs of particular Persons, which of late Years had miserably harrass'd, and almost ruin'd the State, were now wholly crush'd and stifled. And to compleat the Happiness of *Rome*, *Augustus* himself made it his principal Care and Imployment to maintain this Peace, and to gain the Hearts and Affections of the People, which were now made his Subjects by Consent, as before they had been by Constraint; without which he cou'd not with any Security have preserv'd his Authority intire. This Love and Esteem which he endeavour'd to gain, manifestly display'd it self shortly after his being nam'd *Augustus*, in the Senate's giving him the Title of *Father of his Country*, in these Words; *The Senate, by the unanimous Consent and Concurrence of the People of Rome, salutes You Cæsar Augustus, with the Title of Pater Patriæ, wishing all manner of Prosperity to You and Your Family; and in so doing, they wish perpetual Felicity to the Commonwealth.* To which hearty Salutation the Emperor reply'd, with the utmost Marks of Satisfaction, *That now he was become Master of his greatest Wishes; and what principally remain'd for him was to implore the Assistance of the Immortal Gods to make him a true Father of his Country, and to continue him in their Love and Affections to the last Moment of his Life.* The sincerity of this Answer was more fully confirm'd by Time; for in all his Publick Cares and Actions the general Good of his Country was manifestly his principal Aim.

His

His first Concern was to establish the Religion of the State as he found it, and whatever Changes he made in other Publick Matters, he was still careful to avoid making any in this; well considering how tender a Point that was, and how dangerous such Alterations might prove in an unsettl'd Empire. In Matters of Civil Government and Common Right, he Reform'd many ancient Laws, and Enacted several New; yet he acted not wholly by his own Pleasure, but propounded many Things to be Debated in Publick, that if any disapprov'd of 'em, they might be Alter'd and Corrected. He desir'd all to declare their Opinions with the utmost Freedom and Openness, and after hearing and weighing their Reasons, he wou'd act as he thought 'em most cogent; but he more particularly desir'd to be advis'd by the Consuls, or his Colleague, if he himself bore that Office; all which manner of Proceeding made him still more highly esteem'd and belov'd. Of the other Magistrates he made choice of one out of each sort, and out of the Senate fifteen, which were elected by Suffrage, and were constituted for six Months to be his Councillors; that by this Means he might seem to communicate his Designs to the rest. He brought many things of great Note before the whole Senate; but in Affairs of the highest Importance he often thought it most proper to consult a few select Persons of the greatest Wisdom and Understanding. He sometimes call'd these Persons to decide Causes; tho' the Senate constantly heard some particular Matters, and likewise gave Answer to the Ambassadors of Kingdoms and other States as formerly. Tho' the *Comitia* or Assemblies of the People were sometimes held, yet nothing of Importance was there acted contrary to the Pleasure of the Em-

peror: He permitted the Tribunes to intercede for the People, but not to prefer or hinder any Bill; and without this particular Restraint he knew that the common sort wou'd never suffer him to sit securely in his Throne. He partly nominated Magistrates himself, and left others to be created by the People; still taking Care that no unworthy Persons advanc'd themselves by any indirect Practices. And this was the general course of *Augustus's* Administration of the Government; no Prince in the World being more Judicious in the complying with his People, or more skilful in the preserving his Authority.

His prudent Bearing with several Affronts, and his discreet Backwardness in punishing many Criminals, was very remarkable; being always the Effects of a most mature Judgment, and a profound Capacity. He sometimes freely Pardon'd many great Persons, whom the Senate had Condemn'd, and that out of Policy as well as Clemency; judiciously conceiving, that the bare Questioning of Men of the highest Rank, wou'd produce as much Terror, tho' it argu'd not so much Rigour, as the Punishment of 'em. And when ever the Extremity of the Law was us'd, it was in Matters of the highest Importance and greatest Necessity; and that to settle a general Tranquility, and a more firm Happiness. He was justly sensible, that he had still many Enemies, both upon the account of his former Contests, as well as his present Authority; therefore he the more readily embrac'd the Advice of his Friend *Mecænas*, Never to be concern'd at what was spoken against him: For, added he, if their Accusations be true, he ought rather to correct himself than restrain others; if false, the contempt of such Discourses wou'd destroy the Belief of 'em; but a Concern wou'd argue

Chap. I. AUGUSTUS II.

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argue the Truth of 'em, and put it in the Power of the vilest Person to disturb his Repose. This Rule was exactly observ'd by *Augustus*, as a Person whose Title and Authority was not yet well ripen'd and strengthen'd by Time. His great Kindness and Civility to *Anthony's* Party prov'd a firm Support to his own Interest; and the greater, because he had given such Publick Demonstrations of his Favour to 'em, by adding Places of Trust and Honours to his Pardons. His Kindness and Bounty to the generality of the People was no less remarkable; for many of the Commons who were in a declining condition he generally reliev'd: And when several of 'em had made him Heir to their Goods and Estates, he immediately restor'd all to the Children of the Deceased, intimating, *That no good Father ever appointed any Prince for his Heir but a Tyrant.* Which generous Action shew'd this Emperor to be as true a Guardian to Orphans, as a Father to his Country.

But the principal Care of *Augustus* was to satisfy his Soldiers, and to render them constant and faithful upon all Exigencies. A considerable number of which he dispers'd all about *Italy*, in thirty two Colonies, as well for the Defence of the Country, as for their more speedy reassembling, if Occasion shou'd require it. Abroad among the Frontier Provinces were maintain'd at the charge of the Publick, twenty five Legions with their Auxiliaries, seventeen of which were in *Europe*; namely, eight about the *Rhine*, four about the *Danube*, three in *Spain*, and two in *Dalmatia*; the other eight were half in *Asia*, and half in *Africa*; namely, four about the *Euphrates* and the Eastern Provinces, two in *Egypt*, and two in the Province of *Carthage*. These were for some Ages with little Alterations constantly maintain'd in Times of

*The Forces of
the Empire.*

Peace, amounting to 170650 Men, reckoning 6100 Foot and 726 Horse in each Legion; all which were paid with the utmost Care and Exactness, their Annual Wages amounting to near six Millions of our Money, besides plentiful Provisions of Corn, and the Stipends of Officers. But nigh the City of *Rome* were always lodg'd twelve Cohorts, consisting of about 10000 Men, nine of which were call'd *Prætorian*, and the other three *Urbane*; and these were establish'd under a double Notion, the Guard of the Emperor's Person, and the Safety and Security of the City. Besides these numerous and well disciplin'd Forces by Land, *Augustus* also kept up two large and powerful Fleets at Sea; the one riding at Anchor near *Ravenna* in the upper Sea, to command and defend *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, *Crete*, *Cyprus*, *Asia*, with the Eastern Provinces; the other at *Misenum* in the lower Sea, to awe and protect *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Africk*, and the Western Parts. But this was not the sole use of these two Navies, but were design'd likewise to scour the Seas of all Pirates; to serve for Convoys to the Tributes, Customs, and Imposts, upon all Occasions; and to transport Corn, and other Provisions necessary for the Subsistence and Relief of the City. *Augustus* was no less careful in Re-peopling *Italy*, which he joyn'd to *Cis-Alpine Gaul*, and brought twenty eight Colonies into it, having been much enfeebled and exhausted of Men by the late Civil Wars. He at the same time took much care about the publick High-ways, and finding 'em extremely neglected of late Years, he left some of 'em to be repair'd by certain Senators, at their own proper Charges, and undertook the *Via Flaminia* himself; for which Work, Statues were erected to him on the Bridge of the *Tiber*, and at *Ariminum*.

Thus

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Thus carefully was *Augustus* employ'd for the two first Years of his new Administration; and it might have been reasonably expected, that the Wisdom of his Institutions, and the Mildness of his Government, shou'd have prevented all Revolts and Insurrections in the Conquer'd Countries: But so prevailing is the Love of Liberty, that in these prosperous Times he was alarm'd with News of *Britain* being full of Sedition, part of *Spain* up in Arms, and *Gaul* prepar'd for an Insurrection. All which he judg'd a sufficient Cause to open the Temple of *Janus*, which he did, after it had been shut near five Years; and for the better Establishment of all Affairs, he left *Rome* himself and departed for *Gaul* with all necessary Expedition. There the *British* Ambassadors, by their fair Promises, prevented his passing over thither; and the *Gauls*, by their Submission, shorten'd his stay in their Country; so that his principal Business was to Chastise the Insolency of the *Spaniards*, especially the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians*, who now had made great Devastations, and done much Damage to the *Roman* Allies. *Augustus*, at his Arrival, found 'em Besieging of a considerable Town, which he in a short time Reliev'd: After which he divided his Army into three Parts, and surrounded the whole Country of the *Cantabrians*, who had obstinately resisted the *Romans* for many Years. Having discover'd the Way to surprize 'em in their Mountainous Country, he press'd forward with great Vigour and Severity, till they were constrain'd to retire to one of their highest Mountains, with their Wives and Children, and all their best Effects, where they strongly fortify'd themselves against any Attempt that cou'd be made against 'em.

The Romans finding it extremely hazzardous to Attack so Warlike and Obstinate a People in such an advantageous Post, declin'd following 'em, but with great Expedition built many Forts, and securely block'd up all the Passages and Avenues to the Mountain, with a Design to starve 'em. Yet such was the Hardiness and Resolution of this People, that instead of Yielding, they endur'd all the imaginable Miseries of Want and Famine, Mothers killing their own Children, and the Young Men slaying the Old, and devouring their Flesh to sustain the Necessities of Nature. This Evil occasion'd another as fatal, which was a sharp and violent Discord among themselves, some being resolv'd to Yield, and others to Oppose; the former alledging, *The absolute Necessity of submitting at last*, and the latter, *The Honour of dying bravely with their Swords in their Hands*. This dangerous Contention so far increas'd, that the Cantabrians at last forc'd out 10000 of the Asturians with their Wives and Children; who descending by the Roman Forts, begg'd of the Romans, with Floods of Tears, and the most moving Arguments imaginable, *To make 'em Slaves, and to give 'em any Subsistence to save 'em from Perishing*. But the Emperess's Son *Tiberias*, then one of *Augustus's* Lieutenants, wou'd not permit 'em to be receiv'd, that he might finish the whole War with less Bloodshed. And when these miserable People found themselves thus depriv'd of all Hopes and Thoughts of Relief, they immediately pounded a Venomous Herb, and poyson'd themselves; only the Young-Men, by a way more suitable to their Employments, and agreeable to their Professions, kill'd themselves by running upon each others Swords.

In a short time after, the Remainder of the Enemy, to the Number of 23000, came down in a deplorable Manner, and yielded themselves to the Mercy and Discretion of the *Romans*, who selected 10000 of the Strongest to serve in the Wars against the *Asturians*, the rest being sold by Troops, and sent to Places remote from their own Country. Of 10000 that were all disarm'd, many of 'em resented it so extremely, that they kill'd themselves with their own Hands, esteeming their Lives of no Value after the Loss of their Liberties and Arms. *Augustus* being then in those Parts, permitted the Soldiers of his Guard of *Spaniards* to depart into *Gaul* with large Presents, and Privilege to enter in Rank among the *Roman* Legions. He built *Saragosa*, and several other Places of Note, which he fill'd with strong Garrisons, to prevent the Insurrections of the *Celiberians*, and afterwards he built a large Stone Bridge over the great River *Iberus*. Then shortly after having overthrown the *Comisci*, Associates to the *Asturians*, taken their City, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword; he march'd against the *Asturians* themselves, who being environ'd on all Parts, burnt, stabb'd, and poyson'd themselves, together with a great Number of their Neighbours. Yet there remain'd many Parties of scatter'd People, who in a short time gather'd together from all Parts, and all at once resolv'd to attack the *Romans*, which they did with such extraordinary Resolution and Obstinacy, that nothing but the Night could separate 'em, after very great Losses on both Sides. The next Morning they joyn'd with a more dreadful Fury than before, and the Battel continu'd very sharp and bloody till Night, at which time the *Romans* by their extraordinary Discipline, and with extreme Difficulty, obtain'd the

the Victory, confessing, *That they never encounter'd such fierce and cruel Enemies.* *Augustus* having thus happily finish'd this War, built several Places in that Country, which afterwards were much improv'd and enlarg'd.

This Year was as remarkable for several Wars in other Parts, as it had been for Revolts in *Spain*. *Marcus Crassus*, one of *Augustus's* Lieutenants on the *Danube*, march'd into the Country of the *Mæsians*, a fierce and savage People beyond *Pannonia* and the *Danube*, who had never seen the *Romans*. Upon the Approach of the Enemies Army, one of their Commanders came boldly up to the Front of the *Roman Army*, and cry'd, *Who are you, that dare come to molest us?* The other reply'd, *We are Romans, the Lords of Nations.* *It shall be so*, answer'd the *Mæsiian*, *if you overcome us*; and thereupon made a Vow to sacrifice to their Gods the Entrails of such Captains as they took of the *Romans*, and afterwards devour 'em. Notwithstanding their Threats and their unusual Fierceness, they were soon put to Flight, and afterwards subdu'd, with all those who had joyn'd with 'em. About the same time *Terentius Varro*, another of the Emperour's Lieutenants, subdu'd the *Salassi*, a People upon the *Alps*, disarm'd 'em, gave part of their Territory to the *Prætorian Soldiers*, and there built a City call'd *Augusta Prætoria*, now *Aouste*. *Vincius* at this time appeas'd some Troubles in *Germany*, and was very successfull in several Places, by which Victories he obtain'd for *Augustus* the Title of *Imperator*, an Honour he had several Times receiv'd before. *Agrippa*, whom *Augustus* had justly advanc'd to the highest Dignities, was no less employ'd in the City than others were in the Provinces, adorning it with several Noble Structures at his own Charges, among the rest finishing

nishing the *Pantheon*; a famous Temple, so nam'd Pantheon.
 from its many Images of the Gods, or from its
 Arch'd Roof, which resembl'd the Heavens. *Augustus*
 at his Return ended the Year with the
 Marriage of *Anthony's* Daughter *Cleopatra* to *Juba*
 King of *Mauritania*, and with that of his own
 Daughter *Julia* to *Octavia's* Son *Marcellus*, a *Julia's first*
 Youth of the highest Merits and Accomplish- *Marriage,*
 ments. And now having finish'd all Wars, he *with Marcellus.*
 shut up the Temple of *Janus* a second time, with- *The Temple of*
 in less than a Year after it had been open'd, being *Janus shut the*
 not very ambitious of new Conquests: Tho' du- *second time.*
 ring the whole Course of his Government, he
 neglected no Wars that might be necessary or use-
 ful, yet he always left such to *Heroes* as were pure-
 ly glorious.

II. For a short space the whole *Roman* Empire
 continu'd in a profound Peace; and now *Augustus*
 entring upon his tenth Consulship with *Norbanus*,
 the Senate by Oath approv'd of all his Acts; and
 after a Donative of about Twelve Crowns to each
 Citizen, the Senate gave him a greater Authority
 than ever, making him wholly free from the
 Power of the Laws. Many other things were
 decreed in Honour of him; and likewise, That
 his Nephew *Marcellus*, upon the account of his
 extraordinary Merits, shou'd take Place in the Se-
 nate among those of the *Prætorian* Rank, and that
 he might stand for the Consulship ten Years be-
 fore the Laws permitted him. And in favour of
 his Empresses Son *Tiberius*, it was ordain'd, That
 he might stand for any Office of Magistracy five
 Years before the usual Time; shortly after which,
Marcellus was made *Edile*, and *Tiberius*, *Quæstor*. In
 which Year *Alius Gallus*, Governour of *Egypt*,
 by *Augustus's* Orders, to revenge some Affronts
 upon

U. C.

730.

upon the *Arabians*, pierc'd a considerable Way into their Country, under the Guidance of *Syllæus*, a Noble Man of *Arabia*. This caus'd the Temple of *Janus* to be open'd, after it had been shut less than a Year; but *Gallus*, having first overthrow'n the *Sabæans* in Battel, and then lost the greatest Part of his Men in the Sandy Desarts where *Syllæus* had treacherously led 'em, was at last oblig'd to retire. About the same time the *Cantabrians* in *Spain* and their Neighbours revolted, and surprising a considerable Number of the *Romans* by a Stratagem; they put 'em all to the Sword. But *Alius Lama*, Governour in those Parts, sufficiently reveng'd their Deaths, laying all their Country waste with Fire and Sword, and pursuing the Enemy so vigorously, that he shortly reduc'd 'em to an intire Subjection.

The following Year the Emperor being in his eleventh Consulship, fell into a dangerous Distemper, in which Time he seem'd to design the putting the Common-wealth once more into the Hands of the Senate and People; which appear'd the more probable by his not naming a Successor, and by his giving the Senate a Book of all the Towns, Provinces, Allies, Forces, Riches, and Customs of the whole *Roman* Empire. When almost all despair'd of his Life, *Antonius Musa* restor'd him to his Health, to the great Satisfaction of the People, who immediately erected a Statue to *Musa*: The Senate likewise conferr'd great Honours upon him, and in favour of his Profession, gave Immunity to all others who from that time should practice Physick. At his Recovery there was a general Joy throughout the whole City, which was express'd by many publick and magnificent Shows; and many Fathers upon their Death-Beds commanded their Children to carry their

their Sacrifices to the *Capitol* with this Inscription, *THAT AT THE DAY OF THEIR DEATHS THEY LEFT AUGUSTUS IN HEALTH*: And further it was ordain'd, that from that time no Man should be put to Death on such Days as *Augustus* shou'd enter the City; so much and heartily was this great Prince belov'd. Shortly after, *Augustus* joyn'd himself to *Calpurnius Piso* in the Consulship, a Person of the Party of *Pompey* and *Brutus*. After which he for a time retir'd himself in the Country, leaving *Lucius Sestius* his Deputy, a constant Friend to *Brutus* and his Memory; which impartial Carriage so affected the Senate, that they immediately decreed him Perpetual *Proconsul* of the *Roman Empire*, and *Tribune of the People*, and gave him Power of assembling the Senate when he pleas'd. In the mean time *Marcellus*, for whose Sake *Agrippa* had gone into *Asia*, by his generous and noble Behaviour in his *Adile-ship*, gain'd himself much Love and Reputation. All the City judg'd and hop'd that he should succeed *Augustus* in the Empire; but shortly after, this extraordinary promising Youth died, to the exceeding Grief of all; a Person of whom *Virgil* said, *That the Destinies had only shewn him to the World, and taken him away, lest Rome shou'd have had too much Vanity for the Possession of so great a Blessing*. He had a Publick Funeral, with many other Honours decreed him; and his Death was by some imputed to the Empress *Livia*, the most exquisite Projectress of her Sex, who was much dissatisfy'd at his being prefer'd before her own Son *Tiberius*.

*The Death of
Marcellus.*

The next Year had *M. Marcellus* and *L. Aruntius* for Consuls, and was accompanied with so many discouraging Accidents, and so great a Plague, that the Lands of *Italy* were left untill'd. The

Commons

Commons imagining these Calamities to have proceeded from the Want of *Augustus's* being Consul this Year, with great Ardency requir'd the Senate to make him *Dictator*, threatening to Fire the House, and there detain'd the Senators till they had decreed it. After which they all repair'd to *Augustus*, with twenty four *Axes* and *Fasces*, begging him to accept of the *Dictatorship*, and to permit himself to be made Procurator of Provisions, as *Pompey* had formerly been. He unwillingly accepted of the latter Employment, and acted accordingly, but wou'd by no Perswasions admit of the *Dictatorship*; and when he cou'd no otherwise satisfie the People, he in a violent Passion tore his Robes in their Presence, wisely declining the Envy and Danger of that Title, when he had already the Honour and Authority of it in most Cases. He made the same Refusal when they offer'd to create him perpetual *Censor*, naming *Amilius Lepidus*, and *Munatius Plancus* for that Office, who were the last *Censors* of Private Persons. And tho' they bore the Office, yet *Augustus* acted in many things pertaining thereto. In this Year he put an end to some particular Assemblies, and reform'd some others. He requir'd the *Prætors*, which not long before he had reduc'd to Ten, to take Care of the Celebration of all Publick Games; yet still that some Stipend should be allow'd 'em by the People. He likewise Ordain'd, by a particular Edict, That none shou'd exhibit the show of *Gladiators*, without Orders from the Senate, and then no oftner than twice a Year, nor with more than 120 *Gladiators*. To the *Curule Ediles* he committed the Charge of extinguishing Fires, allowing 600 Slaves for that Service. And because the *Equites*, and many Illustrious Women of late were accusom'd to Dance

Dance in the *Orchestra* at the Theatres, he order'd, That not only the Children of Senators, which before had been Prohibited; but likewise that their Grand-Children, and those of the *Equestrian* Order, shou'd be restrain'd from such Exercises for the future.

In all these Matters *Augustus* shew'd the Authority of a Legisslator and an Emperor; but in others he so far humbled himself, as even to plead for some of his Friends, who were cited to answer before the Publick, and to appear in Courts of Judicature like a Private Person. *M. Primus*, Governour of *Macedonia*, having a Day assign'd him to answer for his making War with the *Odrysi*, alledg'd it was by Orders from *Augustus* or *Marcellus*; whereupon *Augustus*, spontaneously enter'd into the Court, and being ask'd by the *Praetor*, whether he had given any such Orders, deny'd it. Upon which *L. Murena*, who pleaded for *Primus*, with great Boldness and Anger demanded, *What he did there, and who sent for him thither?* *Augustus* with as much Calmness and Moderation reply'd, *It was the Common-wealth*. Which Deportment gain'd him much Esteem, tho' many harbour'd ill Thoughts of him upon this Account; and some not only acquitted *Primus*, but likewise Conspir'd against *Augustus*: The principal of which were *Murena* and *Cæpio*, who absenting themselves, were banish'd by Decree, and afterwards put to Death. At the same time *Augustus* freely restor'd the Province of *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Cyprus* to the People, as little needing the Protection of his Arms; and thenceforth Proconsuls began to be sent into those Provinces. About this time the *Cantabrians* and *Asturians* in *Spain* Revolting again, were in a short time reduc'd; after which *Augustus* Dedicated a Temple
to

to *Jupiter the Thunderer*. The same Year also the *Aethiopians* about *Egypt*, under Conduct of their great Queen *Candace*, wasted all the Country as far as the City *Elephantina*; where when they understood that *C. Petronius*, Governor of *Egypt*, was marching against 'em, they endeavour'd to make their Retreat, but were intercepted and defeated. This Success occasion'd *Petronius* to march into their Country, where he manag'd the War with great Advantage, taking, among others, the Royal City *Tanape*, which after he had Demolish'd, and left a Garrison in another City, he retreated with the greatest part of his Army, not being able to proceed by reason of the violent Heats and Mountains of Sand. Yet afterwards understanding, that the Garrison which he had left behind him was vigorously attack'd, he return'd with much Celerity and Diligence and Reliev'd it; and shortly after he constrain'd *Candace* to receive Terms of Accommodation, returning with his Army richly Laden with Booty to *Alexandria*.

U. C.
733.

The following Year *Augustus* designing a Journey through all the Eastern Provinces, the People of *Rome* fell into some Contests and Disturbances about the Electing of Consuls; which gave the Emperor such Trouble, that he found it necessary to create a new Magistrate to Govern the City, and to prevent these and the like Disorders in his Absence. He judg'd *Agrippa* to be the most proper Person for so great a Command, and to procure the more Respect and Authority, he caus'd him to Divorce his Wife, tho' she was his Sister *Octavia's* Daughter, and to marry his own Daughter *Julia*; *Mecenas* having before politickly suggested to him, That since he already made *Agrippa* so great and powerful, he must of necessity make him his Son-in-Law, or take his Life. While *Agrippa* with the

*Julia's second
Marriage with
Agrippa.*

Chap. I. A U G U S T U S II.

17

the utmost Wisdom and Diligence was taking Care of the City, *Augustus*, first settling the Affairs of *Sicily*, pass'd over into *Greece*, where he Honour'd the *Lacedæmonians* with his Company, and shew'd 'em particular Marks of his Favour, because they had formerly harbour'd and entertain'd *Livia* with her Husband and Son when they fled out of *Italy*. From *Greece* he sail'd to *Samos*, and there Winter'd. In the Spring following when *Apuleius* and *Sillius* were Consuls, he cross'd over into *Asia*, and settled Affairs in *Bitthynia*, and other Provinces through which he pass'd, with no less Care and Diligence, than if they had belong'd to Himself, and not to the People. Upon his approaching nigh the Borders of *Parthia*, *Phraortes*, King of that Nation, out of Respect to his Person, and Dread to his Arms, sent him all the Military Ensigns and Prisoners taken from *Crassus* and *Anthony*; which he receiv'd after the same manner, and with the same satisfaction as if he had Overthrown the *Parthians* in Battel. Having recover'd all these Things with much Honour and no Bloodshed, he caus'd Sacrifices to be Offer'd, and commanded that a Temple shou'd be decreed in the *Capitol* to *Mars the Avenger*, in Imitation of that to *Jupiter Feretrius*, in which Military Ensigns were also to be hung up. At which time *Julia* brought *Agrippa* a Son, which he nam'd *Caius*, on whose Birth-Day a perpetual Sacrifice was decreed, with other Solemnities; and privately the *Ediles* added Games on Horseback, and Hunting to the Birth-Day Solemnities of the Emperor.

Augustus, after he had pass'd through many Provinces in the *East*, in the latter end of the Year return'd to *Samos* a second time, to which Places he granted great Privileges; and was met
C there

there by Ambassadors from *Porus* and *Pandion*, two of the mightiest Kings of the *Indians*, who came such a Distance to sue for the Alliance of so great an Emperor, and brought with 'em many rare and valuable Presents. During his long stay at *Samos*, at the next Election of Consuls, the City of *Rome* was fill'd with dangerous Tumults and Disturbances, caus'd by the violent Practices of *Egnatius Rufus*, who forceably endeavour'd to be chosen Consul in the Place of *Augustus*. *Augustus* understanding these Mischiefs, immediately nam'd *Q. Lucretius* for the Person, formerly a Proscrib'd Man, which threw *Rufus* into such a terrible Rage, that he immediately form'd a Conspiracy with *M. Genucius* and *Plautius Rufus* to Murder *Augustus* at his Return. But before that time their Designs and Practices were all discover'd, and they themselves Executed by Order of Senate. As *Augustus* return'd home, he was met at *Athens* by that great Poet *Virgil*, who to finish his *Aeneids* had retir'd to *Greece*; and meeting here with *Augustus* he return'd with him, and visiting *Megara* in a very hot Season contracted a Distemper, which so much increas'd with Sailing, that a few Days after his Landing at *Brundisium* he dy'd, in the 52d. Year of his Age. This Great Man was highly in Favour, and most intimately Acquainted with *Augustus*, who extreamly admir'd and lov'd him, as well for the inimitable Excellencies of his Muse, as the Immortal Honours he receiv'd from his Pen: For under the Name of *Aneas* he made the noblest, the most exquisite, and most compleat Panegyrick upon *Augustus* that ever was made in any Age of the World; and is generally believ'd to have much promoted that Veneration the Senate and People had for him, which display'd it self more openly at his Return home than

The Death of
Virgil.

than formerly. For they now gave him the Dignity of *Consul* for Life, Ordaining, That he shou'd always have twelve *Axes* and *Fasces* born before him; and that he shou'd sit in a *Curule* Chair between the *Consuls*. They also Petition'd him to make new Laws, and offer'd to swear to Obey 'em: He made several new Laws, but refus'd their Oaths, intimating, *That if his Laws were grateful to 'em, their Oaths wou'd be needless; if not, they wou'd be ineffectual.*

At this time *Agrippa*, from his Government in the City, march'd into *Gaul*, where the Invasions of the *Germans* had rais'd some new Troubles. Having settled the Affairs of that Country, he pass'd from thence into *Spain*, where there was great need of the Presence of so renown'd a Commander: For the *Cantabrians*, who before had been Prisoners of War, and been made Slaves, had with great Dexterity destroy'd their Masters; and gathering together in great numbers, fortify'd several Places, and vigorously attack'd the *Roman* Garrisons. *Agrippa* march'd against these with great Diligence, where he had a most dreadful and bloody Contest with such of 'em as had serv'd the *Romans*, and had now despair'd of Pardon. He for a while suffer'd the extreamest Inconveniencies; but at length having lost many of his Soldiers, and fix'd a Mark of Ignominy upon many others for their ill Services, he destroy'd almost all the *Cantabrians* that were of Military Age, disarm'd the rest, and brought 'em all from their Mountainous Places into the open Plains. Thus *Agrippa* compleated the Conquest of *Spain*, which Country had with some Intermissions resisted the *Romans* with great Obstinacy and Bravery for about 200 Years; and notwithstanding *Agrippa's* excellent Services, this Great Man modest-

U. C.
736.

*Spain's final
Reduction.*

ly refus'd a Triumph, giving *Augustus* the Honour of all. And *Augustus* himself was not very Ambitious of the Honour of subduing Barbarous People, as it plainly appear'd in the following Year, when the *Getes* and *Dacians* being in Civil Wars among themselves, *Lentulus*, who before had Warr'd against 'em with good Success, represented to him the Advantages he might make of these Domestic Disturbances. *Augustus* with great Reason and Moderation told him, *The Injustice of making War with any Nation without an Injury first committed*; then added, *That those who sought a small Gain with great Hazard and Danger, were like such as angled with a Golden Hook, the Breaking or Loss of which was of much greater Consideration than the value of any Fish.* And therefore these Barbarous People were to be left to their own Miseries; and that by the Bloodshed from their own Companions, they were abundantly Punish'd for the Affronts they offer'd formerly to the Romans, who ought not to begin to do Injury.

About this time *Augustus* being desirous of Reforming several Abuses in the City, to do it the more effectually he joyn'd *Agrippa* with him in Quality of *Censor*; and to give him greater Authority, made him also *Tribune of the People* for five Years. He first corrected some Disorders in the Senate, then reform'd the *Equites*, the Publick Spectacles and Plays, and the Methods of suing for all Offices; in the latter he sometimes distributed Money among whole Tribes, in such a manner as might most probably prevent Bribes. He Fin'd many that refus'd to Marry after an appointed Age, and as much encourag'd those who had many Children: He gave *Hortensius Hortulius* 25000 Crowns, to procure him a Wife, that he might preserve the Noble Family of the *Hortensii*. He Ordain'd also, That all Virgins shou'd be
twelve

twelve Years of Age before they Marry'd, and permitted any Person to kill an Adulterer taken in the Fact without Punishment; also condemning all *Sodomites* without Remission. And in Matters of Military Discipline he was more than ordinary Exact; and because a Knight had cut off his Son's Thumbs to disable him from going to the Wars, he immediately Sold him and all his Goods. He likewise took Care, that the Senate shou'd be always holden with great Reverence; that the Senators shou'd meet as at a Temple of Devotion; and that no Decree shou'd pass but in the Presence of 400 Senators, if possibly to be effected. He also Ordain'd, That no Man shou'd have so great a Privilege and Honour as the Freedom of *Rome*, but after a strict Examination of his Merits; setting new Rules and Limits to the Manumission of Slaves. In this Point he was always very severe, and when *Tiberius* writ to him to beg the Freedom of *Rome* for a *Gracian* who was one of his Clients, he answer'd him, *That he wou'd do nothing in this Case, 'till he came himself and satisfy'd him of the Justice of his Request.* His beloved Wife *Livia* Petitioning in like manner for a Tributary *Gaul*, he absolutely deny'd him his Freedom, yet granted Immunity and Exemption from his Tribute, professing, *That he wou'd sooner condescend to a Diminution of the Publick Revenue, than to prostitute the Honour of the Roman Citizens.*

This same Year he solemniz'd his *Decennalia*, *Ludi Saculares.* and He and *Agrippa* gave the People the Pleasure of the great *Secular Games*, which had not been seen for a hundred Years before, which were now celebrated with more than ordinary Pomp and Magnificence. And in this particular no Prince ever exceeded him, being himself a great Admi-

U. C.

737.

rer of all those Publick Plays, Shows and Games which were so much in use among the *Romans*. The Charge and Variety of these were much greater in this Reign than almost in any other; and the Emperor himself often gave great Rewards to the Victors in all the Martial Exercises. He took a peculiar Delight in the Tournament, or Warlike Pastime call'd *Troy*, and making choice of his Boys of greater and lesser Stature, he exhibited it very frequently, judging it an ancient and honourable Exercise, and becoming the Education of the principal Nobility. He much encourag'd Wrestling, but in those Games he wou'd not permit any Women to be present, justly accounting it too gross an Indecency for Women to gaze on Naked Men. His Affection to Plays greatly appear'd by his Rewards he gave to the best Actors, but more especially at a particular Time when being at the Theatre, and finding the People discompos'd by a sudden Apprehension of the falling of the Building, he immediately remov'd from his own Seat, and plac'd himself where the Danger was most imminent. Notwithstanding the Incouragement he gave to Players, he exactly and severely examin'd their Morals, not allowing the least Licentiousness in their Lives, nor Indecency in their Actions. He punish'd their Crimes many ways; and having Information that one *Stephanus* a Comedian was attended by a Woman in the Habit of a Boy, he order'd him to be whipt through the three Theatres, and banish'd the City. In these *Secular Games*, one of the Players calling him *Lord*, he shew'd remarkable Signs of his Dissatisfaction to the People; and the next Morning he published a severe Edict, forbidding all Persons to give him that Title for the future. Upon the finish-

ing

ing of these Games, he adopted *Agrippa's* two Sons *Caius* and *Lucius*, the latter of which was just now Born.

Caius and Lucius Adopted by Augustus.

About the same time the *Sicambri*, *Usipetes*, and *Tenchteri*, People of *Germany*, surpriz'd some *Romans* in their Territories, and Crucify'd 'em; then passing the *Rhine* with great Expedition, wasted many Parts of *Gaul*, Overthrew a considerable Party of *Horse*; and shortly after *Lollius*, Proconsul of *Gaul*, from whom they took a Standard. *Lollius*, tho' a Person of but small Vigour and Action, in a short time found an Opportunity of revenging himself by engaging these barbarous Invaders, and driving 'em beyond the *Rhine*. On the other side *C. Lentulus* wag'd War with the *Dacians* beyond the *Danube*, kill'd three of their Commanders, with great numbers of their Men; and afterwards plac'd a Garrison near the *Danube*, to stop the Inroads and Devastations of these Savage People. *Augustus*, finding all these Commotions, dispos'd of the Affairs in *Italy* to go into *Gaul*, and that as well to make his Presence more valuable in the City, as for any Business in those Parts as some have Written. At the same time divers Nations about the *Danube* endeavour'd to Revolt, but were soon suppress'd by the Care and Vigilance of the Emperor's Lieutenants in those Parts. But the greatest Insurrections were now in *Gaul*, occasion'd by the Avarice of *Libinius Enceladus*, Solicitor of the Emperor's Affairs in that Country: For he having commanded the People to procure their Tribute every Month, by a deceitful Account reckon'd Fourteen Months in the Year, instead of Twelve. This Person being accus'd to his Master for Money gain'd by Rapine and Extortion, found means to escape any signal Punishment, by laying before *Augustus* his large quan-

ties of Gold and Silver, assuring him, *That he aim'd at no other Design, than the taking from the Gauls their best means of Rebellion.* After some time continuing in Gaul, *Augustus* withdrew himself from those Parts, and sent *Tiberius* thither to settle all things in the most peaceable Order.

During these Commotions, the *Rhatians*, Inhabitants of some Parts of the *Alpes* and *Germany*, made a very dangerous Irruption into *Italy* it self, making terrible Devastations, and bearing away great Spoils and Booty. They were a People separated from all others, and so fierce and cruel, that when ever they took any Place from the *Romans*, they kill'd all the Male Children; and of all the Women with Child they ask'd the Opinions of their Augurs; and if they pronounc'd the Embryo a Male, they immediately stabb'd the Woman. *Augustus* was extremely concern'd at their Outrageous Actions and dangerous Progress, and withal speed sent his Wife *Livia's* Son *Drusus*, a Person of extraordinary Valour, and other Accomplishments, to stop the Torrent of their Fury. He, in a short time, with great Skill and Dexterity, drove 'em out of *Italy*, having first given 'em an entire Overthrow in a set Battel nigh *Trent*. They write that the Women shew'd themselves so cruel and barbarous in this Fight, that when their Darts fail'd 'em, they took their Infants by their Legs, and threw 'em at their Enemies Faces. Those that were forc'd out of *Italy*, endeavour'd to enter *Gaul*, but were there repell'd by *Tiberius*; and at length they were all constrain'd to submit, most of their best Men being carry'd away to serve the *Romans* in other Parts. *Agrippa* on the other side gave Orders for the Affairs of *Asia*, and all the *East*, where he behav'd himself with that noble Skill and Bravery, that all the

Roman

Roman Allies were more firmly establish'd than ever, and their Enemies so effectually suppress'd, that *Augustus* had new Honours decreed him in those Parts. But *Agrippa*, notwithstanding his excellent Services, out of a peculiar Greatness of Mind, refus'd a Triumph when it was decreed him by the Senate; and this was the principal Cause of the loss of this Custom so highly advantageous to the *Romans*; others generally following his Example, were satisfy'd only with the Ornaments of Triumph.

Augustus having now settled the Affairs of *Gaul*, stopp'd the Incurfions of the *Germans*, and suppress'd the Rebellion of *Spain*; he left *Drusus* with his Army upon the *Rhine*, and return'd to *Rome*, after he had been absent near three Years. He was receiv'd with an universal Joy and Satisfaction, but he refus'd several New Honours that were offer'd him; neither wou'd he permit the People to come out and meet him as they desir'd, but according to his Custom, enter'd the City by Night, that he might not give 'em too much Trouble. Upon the Death of *Lepidus* the *Triumvir* about this time, who had liv'd a Private Life ever since his Disgrace, *Augustus* succeeded him in his Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, and exhibited sumptuous Shows and Games before the People. He gather'd together all the Books of Divinations and Predictions, and caus'd 'em to be burnt, to the number of 2000, reserving only some select Pieces of the *Sibyls*, which he dispos'd into two gilt Desks under the Pedestal of *Apollo Palatinus*. He augmented the Number, the Dignity, and the Revenue of the Priests, especially of the *Vestal* Virgins, for which Order he had a particular Esteem. He now took a Review of the Senators, and confirm'd *Agrippa* in his Office of *Tribune* for five

U. C.
741.

*The Death of
Agrippa.*

five Years longer ; but not long after, this Famous Man being return'd from a Journey out of *Pannonia*, where he had quell'd some Disturbances, he fell Sick and Dy'd, before *Augustus* cou'd arrive to see him. This was a great Affliction to many Worthy Persons, especially to *Augustus*, who after his Body was brought into the City and plac'd in the *Forum*, made a Funeral Oration himself, declaring all the Noble Exploits and generous Acts of this Great Man, who was unquestionably the best Man of his Age in *Dion's* Opinion, the bravest Soldier, the truest Friend, and greatest Assistant that *Augustus* ever had ; which prov'd highly advantageous both to the Empire and Emperor. His Funeral was celebrated with great Pomp and Solemnity ; and *Augustus*, out of his great Love and just Esteem for him, laid him in his own Sepulchre, tho' *Agrippa* had a Monument of his own granted him by the Publick in the *Campus Martius*. He dy'd in the 742^d. Year of the City, in the 15th. Year of *Augustus's* Reign, from his Establishment by the Senate and People, and 10 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

U. C.
742.

III. Thus long did *Augustus* Reign, in some measure with a Partner, tho' not a Rival in his Empire ; and upon his Death he found it necessary to have one for his Assistance in the Government, superior to all others in Power and Dignity, the better to prevent Conspiracies and other Inconveniencies. For this Authority he made choice of *Tiberius*, whom he caus'd to quit his Wife *Agrippina*, the Daughter of *Agrippa* by a former Marriage, and to marry *Julia*. Shortly after he sent him against the *Pannonians*, who had lately Revolted ; which he successfully subdued in

*Julia's third
Marriage with
Tiberius.*

in a little time, leading away the Younger Sort into other Countries. On the other Side, his younger Brother *Drusus* did excellent Service against the *Gauls* and *Germans*; and at his Return was honour'd with the *Prætor*-ship. In the same Year he pass'd the *Rhine* a second time, and made very considerable Conquests; for which great Services he had Triumphal Honours decreed him; and when the time of his *Prætor*-ship was expir'd, he obtain'd *Proconsular* Power. Both he and his Brother *Tiberius* were by the Soldiers saluted with the Title of *Imperator*, but it was not allow'd 'em by *Augustus*. However the Games which *Drusus* exhibited as *Prætor*, were discharg'd with great Expence, and the Birth-Day of *Augustus* celebrated with as much Solemnity; those pompous Entertainments call'd *Augustalia* being now first instituted by vertue of a *Senatusconsultum*, which continu'd for many Ages. These were made in Honour of *Augustus*, and this Prince gain'd more and more the Love and Esteem of his People, particularly by a late Instance of his Mildness, when his great Friends *Mecænas* and *Apuleius* were publickly reproach'd for defending a Person accus'd of Adultery: *Augustus* came into the Court, and calmly admonishing the Accuser *Not to traduce his Friends and Kindred*, rose up and departed. He was shortly after honour'd with Statues, and it was decreed, That upon his Birth-Day, unmarried Persons of both Sexes might be present at the Feast, which had never been allow'd before.

Augustalia.

This Year, the *Bessi* and *Sialæ*, Barbarous Nations, making an Irruption into *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, were overthrown by *Piso* Governour of *Pamphylia*, who obtain'd Triumphal Honours. These were People of great Roughness and Fierceness, and their Savage Temper remarkably appear'd

pear'd in the Prisoners frequent Endeavours to bite and gnaw their Chains in Pieces with their Teeth. In the mean time *Augustus* employ'd himself in making an Inventory of his whole Estate, as if he had been a Private Man; and again surveying the Senate, and perceiving the Members very slow in meeting, he ordain'd that a *Senatusconsultum* might be made by fewer than 400, which Number had formerly been necessary. Now again both Senate and People contributed Money for making of Statues; but *Augustus* would permit none to be erected, but only to *Publick Safety, Concord, and Peace*. It was now also decreed, that the Temple of *Janus* shou'd be shut; but this was hinder'd by the *Dacians*, who suddenly pass'd over the River *Ister* or *Danube* when it was frozen, and made great Devastations in *Pannonia*: Besides which, the *Dalmatians*, not enduring the Exaction of Tribute, began to cast off their Yoak. The *Germans* were likewise up in Arms, since the Departure of *Drusus*, who expeditionally return'd thither, and in a short time suppress'd 'em, as *Tiberius* did the *Dacians* and *Dalmatians*, to the great Satisfaction of the City. But the Joy and Satisfaction that the People receiv'd from these Successes abroad, was extremely allay'd by the Death of *Octavia*, Sister to *Augustus*, for whom the whole City had a more than ordinary Esteem and Veneration. *Augustus* caus'd her Body to be laid publicly in State, in the Sacrary of *Julius Cæsar*, where he himself made a Funeral Oration in Praise of her great Merits and excellent Vertues. *Drusus* publicly chang'd his Senatorian Robe for a Mourning Gown, and her own Sons-in-Law carry'd her away; but *Augustus* thought it not convenient to admit of all the Honours that were decreed her. She died in th 744th Year of the City,

The Death of
Octavia.

City, and eight Years before our Saviour's Nativity.

In the following Year, when *Drusus* was made Consul with *Q. Crispinus*, he endeavouring to gain new Conquests and Honours, pass'd the *Rhine*, and invaded the Territories of the *Chatti* in Germany, and having defeated 'em in a set Battel, proceed- ed into the Country of the *Suevi*, and from thence march'd against the *Cherusci*, pass'd the *Visurgis*, and laid all Waste as far as the River *Albis*, which was much further than ever any Roman had at- tempted before. Having in vain endeavour'd to pass this River, he erected Trophies and retir'd; for a Woman of more than Humane Stature, as *Dion* relates the Story, met him in the Way, and calling him by his Name, demanded of him, *Whi- ther his boundless Ambition would hurry him?* Decla- ring further, *That the Fates did not permit him to see all Parts, therefore bad him retire, for the Period both of his Life and Actions was now approaching.* *Drusus* being now Thirty Years of Age, shortly after died in his Return, before he cou'd reach the *Rhine*: But his Sicknss continu'd so long, that *Augustus*, who was at no great Distance from him, sent with all Speed for his Brother *Tiberius*, who had travell'd the last Two hundred Miles in Twenty four Hours, and at his arrival found him still alive, tho' just expiring. He convey'd his Body to *Rome*, where he was extremely belov'd and admir'd, Centurions and Tribunes bearing it in the beginning, and afterwards the chiefest Men of the City, with much Sorrow and Solemnity. His Body being plac'd in the *Forum*, he was there honour'd by *Tiberius* with a Funeral Oration, and again by *Augustus* himself in the *Flaminian Cirque*. From thence he was born by the most considera- ble of the *Equites*, and others of the *Senatorial* Rank,

U. C.
745.

The Death of
Drusus.

Rank, into the *Campus Martius*, where being burnt, the Ashes were laid in *Augustus's* own Sepulchre. The Surname of *Germanicus* was also given to him and his Sons, besides the Honours of magnificent Statues and Triumphal Arches, and of a noble Monument upon the River *Rhine*; all which were justly due to a young Person of his extraordinary Merits and uncommon Vertues.

Augustus leaving the City shortly after, retir'd himself, and wou'd not return this Year upon the Account of *Drusus's* Death; but in the following he enter'd *Rome*, where he found both the Consuls and other Magistrates accus'd for procuring their Places by Money. *Augustus* at present wou'd make no Inquisition, resolving to punish none by vulgar Reports, nor pardon any who were manifestly convicted. But he wisely took considerable Sums of Money of all such as stood for any Office by way of Pledge; and if any indirect Practices or Briberies were discover'd, they were oblig'd to forfeit all. This Ordinance met with great Approbation from most Persons, but his other concerning Slaves had not so general a Success: Whereas the Laws had disallow'd of Slaves being oblig'd by Torture to confess any thing against their own Masters, *Augustus* therefore order'd, that when Necessity requir'd it, such Slaves shou'd be sold to himself, or the Publick, that their Property being alter'd, their Examination might be free. Tho' this was displeasing to many, yet *Augustus* still grew more and more Popular, by reason of his great Clemency and Compliance in many Cases. Particularly, when one of his Soldiers about this time desir'd him to undertake his Cause, he immediately sent him an Advocate; and that not satisfying the Fellow, who boldly and bluntly told him, *That he never serv'd him by*
Proxy,

Proxy, he went himself and pleaded his Cause. In like manner he assisted another Friend at the Bar, whose Cause he gain'd; and not only dismiss'd his Accuser, whose Behaviour towards him had been very impudent, but upon his being publicly censur'd for his Ill Manners shortly after, he freely pardon'd him. His Firmness and Faithfulness to his Friends was always remarkable; yet how Great and Potent soever his Favourites were in *Rome*, he wou'd allow 'em no greater Privileges than others, without just and manifest Reasons; nor by any Means exempt 'em from the Judiciary Laws. Of all the Criminals and Accus'd Persons in his Reign, he rescu'd but one, who before had been very serviceable to him; but he protected him no other way than by his Intreaties, with which he so mollified the Heart of his Accuser in the Presence of the Judges, that he withdrew his Process, and desisted, as *Suetonius* relates it.

Augustus's second Ten Years being now expir'd, he made several Offers of laying down his Authority, but at last was perswaded to receive the Government for Ten Years longer; which Limitation contributed most of all to his Safety and Security in the Throne. This Year *Augustus* gave the Title of *Imperator* to *Tiberius*, upon the Account of some late signal Services in *Germany*, and likewise made him a second time Consul. He also enlarg'd the Bounds of the *Pomærium* of the City, and nam'd the Month *Sextilis*, *Augustus*, after his own Name, as his Uncle *Julius* had formerly done that of *Quintilis*; and made a further Reformation of the Year. While he was thus busily employ'd, his great Friend *Mecænas* died, which griev'd him extremely, being a Person with whom he had contracted the nearest Friendship and

U. C.
747.

*The Death of
Mecænas.*

and Familiarity, and a Person who had been the most serviceable of all others in moderating his Passions, and bringing him to a calm and sedate Temper. Of this there is a remarkable Instance, when *Augustus* sat judging many accus'd Persons; *Mecænas* perceiving by his Temper at that time that he wou'd condemn many of 'em, and not being able to approach him by reason of the Crowds of People, he wrote, *Rise up Executioner*, and threw the Paper into his Lap; which *Augustus* perceiving, he immediately rose up without sentencing any of 'em. *Augustus* was highly satisfy'd that his Friends wou'd take the Liberty to reprove him, when his own Nature or his Business too much inclin'd him to Passion. This was accounted a great Evidence of his Vertue, that notwithstanding his frequent opposing the Emperor's extravagant Desires, nevertheless he was still esteem'd as his most familiar Friend. Yet tho' he had so great an Interest with the Emperor, he was never so ambitious as to accept of any Dignity himself, resting satisfied with the *Equestrian* Degree; which some have attributed to his great Desire of Ease and Love of Pleasure, tho' more that of a *Vertuoso* than a *Sensualist*. And in this he was much encourag'd and highly applauded by the greatest Poets and ingenious Men in those Days, of whom he was the noblest and most munificent Patron, as also of all Learned Persons; a Character which has rais'd and immortaliz'd his Name as much as those of the greatest Princes in the World. He died in the 747th Year of the City, and Five Years before our Saviour's Nativity; in which Year dy'd *Horace*, the Prince of the *Latin* Lyrick Poets, as tho' he had sympathiz'd with his great Patron, being in the 57th Year of his Age.

While

While *Augustus* was sedulously employ'd in the Publick Affairs, *Tiberius* was no less busie in his Consulship: He undertook the Reparation of the Temple of *Concord*, upon which he plac'd his own Name, together with that of his Brother *Drusus*. After which he dedicated the Temple of *Livia* his Mother, she her self being present at the Ceremony and Solemnity; at which time he nobly treated all the Senators in the *Capitol*, and *Livia* with the Ladies by themselves. Shortly after he left *Rome* and march'd into *Germany*, where some Insurrections had been made; but nothing memorable was perform'd in that Country this Year. This Year a terrible Fire hapned in *Rome* about the *Forum*, which consum'd many Buildings, and was believ'd to have been caus'd by such as were deeply in Debt, who thought to ease themselves by the Ruine of their Neighbours, and the Confusion of the City. This occasion'd the Creation of certain new Officers, call'd *Curatores Vicorum*, who were permitted on certain Days within the Extent of their Authority, to wear the Robe of a Magistrate, and to have two *Lictors* go before 'em; and to them were now assign'd the Six hundred Slaves which formerly attended the *Adiles* for the extinguishing of Fires. And at the same time, by *Augustus's* particular Order, the City was divided into Fourteen *Regions* or *Wards*, and those into inferiour Precincts, for the better Order and Conveniency in the City; the Government of which Wards was assign'd to the foremention'd *Curatores Vicorum*, the *Tribunes of the People*, and to the *Prætors*, by Lot.

In the following Year, *Cains* and *Lucius*, the Emperor's Grandsons by *Agrippa*, by reason of their high Birth and Fortune, began to grow

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proud

proud and insolent; insomuch that *Lucius* the younger, being at the Theatre, and hearing himself flatter'd there to a high degree, very boldly demanded the Consulship for his Brother *Caius*, tho' then but a Boy. This extreamly displeas'd *Augustus*, notwithstanding the great Affection he bore to these Brothers, and with much concern wish'd, *That never any such necessity might lie upon him as he found formerly, that the Consulship shou'd be given to any under twenty Years of Age.* And when the Brothers were more urgent than ordinary, he gravely told 'em, *That this high Office was to be discharg'd by a Man, and such as cou'd take care that he himself offended not, and cou'd rightly manage the extravagant Desires of the People.* However his Tenderneſs so far prevail'd, that at length he gave the Priesthood to *Caius*, and leave to go into the Senate, and to be present with Senators at Shows and Feasts. But somewhat to balance and curb their ambitious Temper, he at the same time created *Tiberius*, Tribune of the People for five Years. *Tiberius* was notwithstanding extreamly disgusted at the Favour *Augustus* shew'd to his Grandsons; and either for the Rising of these Youths, or rather as some believe, for his Dislike of his Wife *Julia's* Behaviour, he desired Permission to retire to *Rhodes*, where he pretended to betake himself to Study. This was no ways pleasing to *Augustus*, who at first deny'd him Leave, till by his excessive Grief and long Fasting, he obtained it; and arriving at *Rhodes*, he there liv'd for several Years, for the most part in a private and retir'd Manner, reading and conversing with the *Greeks* after a familiar Way, only upon some Occasions, he wou'd appear like a Publick Magistrate.

Tiberius his Retirement.

U. C.
749.

The next Year *Augustus* enter'd upon his twelfth Consulship, in which Time he instituted two

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Præfects of the *Prætorian Guards*; and *Caius* being now come to Man's Estate, he brought him into the Court, where he made him *Princeps Juventutis*, or *Prince of the Youth*, and a *Præfect* of a *Tribe*, the *Equites* presenting him with Silver Spears. He was likewise design'd Consul the fifth Year after this; all which Honours were conferr'd upon his Brother *Lucius* afterwards. Thus were the two Sons highly honour'd and dignifi'd by *Augustus*, but their Mother *Julia* met with a very different Treatment shortly after. For *Augustus* now found that she was arriv'd to that Excess of Wantonness and Prodigality, that even in the *Forum*, and at the *Rostra*, she had her nocturnal Meetings, and libidinous Revels, grossly abusing those Courts, in which her Father had made such severe Laws against Adultery. He formerly believ'd that she had liv'd no very strict Life, but never imagin'd she had been so notoriously Infamous till now; having the Misfortune of other Princes, who are generally least acquainted with their nearest Concerns. Upon a full Discovery of her Actions and Behaviour, the good Emperor was so violently and sensibly Afflicted, that he cou'd not conceal the Transports of his Grief and Anger from the Publick, but by a Writing communicated his Misfortune and the Disgrace of his Family, to the Senate it self; an indiscretion which he afterwards said, *He wou'd never have committed, had either Agrippa or Mecænas been living.* But now being overcome with Shame and Rage, he thought of putting his Daughter to Death, but after a calmer Consideration, he banish'd her to *Pandataria*, an Island in *Campania*, to which Place she was voluntarily accompany'd by her Mother *Scribonia*, who had been divorc'd from *Augustus*, the same Day that she was deliver'd of her. Having banish'd

Julia her Banishment.

her, he forbid her the Use of Wine, and all sorts of Delicacy whatsoever, either in Diet or Clothes; and permitted no Person of what Condition soever to come near her without his approv'd Knowledge of their Lives and Morals. Shortly after, her Daughter of the same Name, Marry'd to *L. Paulus*, was also convicted of the same Crimes, and was banish'd into an Island in the *Adriatick* Sea, called *Tremera*.

Augustus in the midst of these Misfortunes, was diverted by a Revolt of the *Armenians*, who by calling in the *Parthians*, expell'd *Antarvasdus* the Roman Governour, but with the Danger of losing their Country to the *Parthians*, who now began to make Pretensions to it, tho' they had first set up *Tigranes*. *Augustus* being inform'd of this dangerous Conjunction, after a long Debate, sent *Caius* into those Parts, having first made him Proconsul, and marry'd him, to procure him the greater Esteem and Friendship, his Wife being the Daughter of *M. Lollius*, who had been appointed Governour of his Youth. *Caius* behav'd himself with various Skill and Success in this Expedition; but in a short time, through the Terror and Greatness of the Roman Name, quieted all Insurrections, the *Armenians* being willing to submit, and the *Parthians* to desist. *Augustus* being now in his thirteenth Consulship with *Plautius Silanus*, having made Peace with all Nations, and shut up the Temple of *Janus* a third time, after it had stood open 22 Years, he ordain'd a general Taxation or Census throughout the Roman Empire, that he might know the true State and Value of the whole. In which Space of time the Lord of Heaven and Saviour of the World, *Jesus Christ*, after an ineffable Manner joyn'd himself to Humane Nature, and appear'd on Earth, being born of a Virgin in the King-

The Temple of
Janus shut the
third time.

U. C.

752.

The Birth of
Chr. st.

Kingdom of *Judæa*, at this time in Subjection to the *Roman Empire*. This was in the 752^d Year of the City, the 3^d of the 194th Olympiad, A. M. 4003, and in the 25th Year of *Augustus's* Reign, from his Establishment by the Senate and People.

A. D.
I.

IV. All the Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, were now in a profound Peace and Quiet, and as much as we know, all the Nations in the World were in the same State; and *Augustus* at present had but small Employment, besides his daily receiving those Honours and Acknowledgments pay'd him by Foreign Nations, and by the greatest Monarchs and Potentates upon Earth. At the same time *Tiberius* at *Rhodes*, growing weary of his five Years Retirement, publicly declar'd, *That he left Rome purely to avoid the Suspicion of Envy between him and the two Brothers, Caius and Lucius; requesting the Emperor, That since those Obstacles were now remov'd by their being arriv'd at Max's Estate, and their being plac'd next to himself in Authority, he wou'd grant him leave to return home, and visit his Friends.* But the Favour was absolutely deny'd him, and a Message was sent to bid him *Lay aside all Care and Thoughts of his Friends, since he had so resolutely deserted them.* Thus he was oblig'd extreamly against his Desire to continue at *Rhodes*; but to cover his Ignominy, his Mother the Empress with much Art and Difficulty, obtain'd that he shou'd be there in Quality of *Legatus* from the Emperor. But in stead of exercising that Office, he retir'd to the middle of the Island, to avoid the Complements of such as Sail'd by; only when *Caius* pass'd that way, he cross'd over to *Chios*, to clear himself from all Suspicions, all the time shewing himself very submissive and respectful to Him and his Attendants.

After this he left off his usual Riding, and other Martial Exercifes; and laying aside the Habit of his Country, reduc'd himself to his *Pallium* and *Crepidae*, thus continuing for almost two Years. Tho' he often shew'd himself Generous and Brave, yet now his Vices had so openly appear'd among the Inhabitants of the Island, that they daily more despis'd and hated him; insomuch that the People of *Nemausus* defac'd his Pictures and Statues: And in a familiar Banquet, mention being made of him, one of the Company rose up and promis'd *Caius* then present, *That if he wou'd but give the Word, he shou'd have the Head of this Exile in a Moment.*

Tiberius now finding himself in great Danger and Manifest Hazzard of his Safety, began more earnestly to solícite his Return, by the Interest of his Mother, who had always a more than ordinary Influence upon the Emperor; notwithstanding which, *Augustus* would no ways proceed in this Affair, without the particular consent of *Caius*. Not long after *Caius's* Governour *Lollius* dy'd, and *Quirinus*, a Friend to *Tiberius*, coming into his Place, so chang'd the Face of Affairs, that *Tiberius* by *Caius's* Permission, was at last recall'd, upon Condition, *That he should bear no Office in the Commonwealth*; and accordingly being arriv'd at *Rome*, he gave himself wholly to a retir'd Life, doing some private Curtesies, but acting in no publick Business. But the Disquiets and Jealousies of *Tiberius*, were all at an end in no long time after; for first *Lucius* being appointed for the Armies in *Spain*, dy'd suddenly at *Marseilles*; and in less than two Years after, his Brother *Caius*, having first receiv'd a Wound in *Armenia*, in his Return towards *Rome*, dy'd at *Limyra*, a City in *Lycia*. The Bodies of both Brothers were brought to *Rome* by the *Tri-*
bunes

*Tiberius his
Return.*

*The Deaths of
Caius and
Lucius.*

bunes of the Army, and the Silver Bucklers and Spears they had receiv'd from the *Equites*, were hung up in the Senate House. Such were the Ends of both these Brothers, who were much belov'd by *Augustus*, for their Father's sake, but of no great Fame and Renown themselves; but the Manner of their Deaths have by many been imputed to the Secret Arts of *Livia*, who by all possible Ways and Methods, endeavour'd to advance her Son *Tiberius* to the Empire. Not long before which, *Herod* King of *Judea*, in expectation of destroying our Saviour, made a barbarous Massacre of all the Infants in and about *Bethlehem*, that were two Years of Age, and under. His Cruelty to his Wife, his Severity to his Children, and his Tyranny to his Subjects, had given *Augustus* just Occasion to say, *That he had rather be a Hog, than his Son*; and his Death was no less miserable, than his Life had been detestable, labouring under all the nauseous and tormenting Concomitants, that can be imagin'd; as Scorchings and Ulcers in his Bowels, Convulsions in his Nerves, Swellings and Rottenness in his Limbs, an insatiable Appetite, and Worms and intolerable Smells, from all Parts of his Body. His Reign had been so odious to his Subjects, that when his Son *Archelaus* was come to *Rome*, to beg the Kingdom of *Judea*, the Jewish Ambassadors, accompany'd with 8000 of their Country-Men in *Rome*, petition'd that they might be joyn'd to *Syria*, and live under *Roman* Governours without any King; but *Augustus* judg'd it most proper to give one half of *Judea* to *Archelaus*, and the rest to his two Brothers *Antipas* and *Philip*.

Herod's Cruelty and Death.

Augustus having thus settled the Affairs of *Judea*, and his third ten Years being now expired, he took the Government upon him for ten more,

A. D.
5.

The last Reformation of the Roman Year.

tho' with some Unwillingness, and almost by Constraint. Not long after which, his Palace was by accident burnt down; and when many freely offer'd him large Sums of Money for its Reparation, he, out of a Desire to be little burdensom, refus'd all, except a small and set Quantity out of each Body or Corporation. And when his Palace was rebuilt, he would have it accounted a Publick Edifice, either because the People had contributed towards its Building, or because he was *Pontifex Maximus*, who always were distinguish'd by their Publick, as well as Private Houses. He did one remarkable thing this Year, as more peculiarly belonging to his Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, which was a further and compleat Reformation of the *Roman Year*. The third Intercalary Day, which had crept in by the Carelessness of the *Roman Priests*, being superfluous, was omitted in the Month of *February*; but thenceforward, he commanded that one Day in the Beginning of every fifth Year, shou'd be intercalated, according to the Institution of *Julius Cæsar*; and for the perpetual Observation of this Order, he caus'd it to be engraven in Brass. And from this Year, the Accounts of Time took their Rise, this Course being constantly observ'd, till the Change made in the *Calendar* by *Pope Gregory* 1574 Years after. But lest the *Roman Fairs* which were held every ninth Day, shou'd fall upon the *Kalends of January*, one Day was often added in the End of the preceding Year, over and above the Custom, and taken away again the year following, that the whole Course might exactly agree with the former Institution of *Julius Cæsar*, which was made about 47 Years before the last Change.

About this time, the People, whether out of Love to the Emperor, or Respect to his Family, earnestly

earnestly petition'd him to recall his Daughter *Julia* ; but he answer'd 'em, *That Fire and Water shou'd sooner meet, than they two.* His Concern and Resentments in this Matter were so great, that when he understood that *Phæbe*, one of his Daughter's Confidants, had chang'd her self, he protested openly, *That he had rather have been Phæbe's Father, than Julia's.* Yet after five Years strict Confinement, they almost compell'd him to permit her removal from the Island, into the Continent, but wou'd never wholly restore her ; and when the People were more than ordinary urgent with him in that Matter, he in a violent Passion wish'd, *That they might have such Daughters and such Wives.* However he conferr'd extraordinary Favours upon her Husband *Tiberius*, tho' the People had affronted him for her sake : He first made him Partner in his *Tribune-Ship* for five Years, and partly through the prevailing Solicitations of *Livia*, and partly from the Hopes he conceiv'd of his Vertues outweighing his Vices, as *Suetonius* thinks, *Tiberius* a- he after that adopted him for his Son. *Tacitus* doped by Au- gustus. wou'd insinuate that he did this, because he knew the Wickedness of his Successor, wou'd make his Death more regretted, and his Reign more admir'd ; but what ever were his Motives, he publicly Swore before the People, *That he adopted Tiberius, for the sake of the Common-Wealth.* His cautious Proceeding in this Matter, was very remarkable ; for first, to prevent any Inconveniencies that might be occasion'd by such an Advancement of *Tiberius*, he caus'd him to adopt his Brother *Drusus's* Son *Germanicus*, a Youth of rare Vertues, and amazing Excellencies, tho' at the same time, *Tiberius* had a Son of his own ; and in the same Day, *Augustus* likewise adopted *Agrippa Posthumus*, the only surviving Brother of *Caius* and *Lucius*. *And Germanicus by Tiberius.*

After

After *Augustus* had thus strengthen'd himself by the Adoption of *Tiberius* and *Agrippa*, he undertook a new Purgation and Modelling of the Senate, and again strictly examin'd into the Manumission of Slaves, and took Care that his former Laws shou'd be faithfully executed. At the same time he generously recover'd the Estates and Fortunes of several young Men, both of *Senatorian* and *Equestrian* Dignity, whose Lives were promising, and had fallen into Decay, without any Crimes of theirs.

In the mean time a great and dangerous Conspiracy against the Emperor was discover'd; and *Cornelius Cinna*, Grandson to *Pompey* by his Daughter, was found to be the principal Person concern'd, besides some others of the highest Rank. The Knowledge of this was a very sensible Affliction to *Augustus*, and the more, because he knew not how to determine any thing advantageously concerning the Conspirators Persons: For if he shou'd put 'em to Death, he fear'd to exasperate their Friends, who were able to have rais'd dangerous Disturbances; and if he shou'd pardon 'em, it might too much encourage Others in the like pernicious Attempts. His racking Doubts, and his penetrating Wariness so tormented him in this Exigency, that he could have no Rest for a considerable Space, till *Livia* by her refin'd Artifices, extorted this important Secret from him, and by many ingenious and politick Arguments for Clemency, perswaded him, *To avoid all violent Remedies, and make use of Lenitives, as the only Cure for this present Distemper.* But whether mov'd by her Reasons, or led by his own Discretion, he sent for the guilty Persons, only corrected 'em with Words and censure, and dismiss'd them; and to shew a farther Instance of his Clemency and Generosity, he nominated

Cornelius,

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Cornelius, Consul for the next ensuing Year. This Action, in which was shewn as much Courage as Judgment, so far oblig'd all Men, and had such happy Effects upon others, that from that time, as *Dion* writes, not only all Conspiracies against him ceas'd, but likewise the very Suspicion and Imagination of 'em.

In the following Year, when *Cornelius* was one of the Consuls, the Soldiers much complain'd of the smallness of their Pay, and the Want of their usual Rewards; which occasion'd *Augustus* in a short time after, to erect a Military Treasury, committing the Charge thereof to three Persons of *Prætorian* Rank, who were to be attended by two *Lictors* and Servants. For the more speedy Advertisement of Occurrences in his Provinces, he had formerly appointed young Men upon all great Roads, who being at no great Distance, ran on foot with the News from one to another; but now he plac'd a sort of flying Chariots, judging them more commodious for Expedition, and more convenient for the Examination and Discourfing with the Messengers, when Occasion requir'd it. In this and the following Year, *Rome* was much afflicted with Famine, insomuch, that the *Gladiators* and all the saleable Slaves, were sent 80 Miles distant from the City; and *Augustus* himself, as well as many others, sent away their Servants. Senators were now permitted to go whither they desir'd; and lest the *Senatusconsulta* shou'd by this means be of less Force, it was decreed, That whatever was enacted by those Senators in the City, shou'd be valid. *Augustus* still gave as much Corn as formerly, to such as usually receiv'd it of the Publick, having some few Years since, reduc'd their indeterminate Number to two hundred thousand. But finding all this too little, he wou'd not permit

Young Agrippa
banish'd.

permit the People to feast publicly on his Birth Day : And these Wants and Miseries, made many of the Common People very tumultuous and seditious ; but those Disturbances gradually abated as the Plenty of Provisions and Necessaries encreas'd. *Augustus* was now no less embarras'd in the Troubles of the Publick, than in those of his own Family ; for Young *Agrippa*, whom he had lately adopted, by his extravagant Life, and irreclaimable Vices, became so Scandalous to his Family and odious to the Emperor, that he banish'd him to the Island *Planatia*. After this, whenever any Mention was made of him, or the two *Julia's*, he wou'd often with a profound Sigh cry, *Would Heaven I had liv'd without a Wife, or dy'd without Children !* Nor did he ordinarily call 'em by any other Name than his three Biles or *Imposthumes*.

A. D.
7.

At this time were many Wars in the Provinces as well as Miseries in the City. The *Isauri* in *Asia* began with Devastations, but proceeding to War, were overthrown. The *Gætuli* in *Africa* refusing any longer to be Subject to King *Juba* took Arms against him, and kill'd many *Romans* making likewise so strong an Opposition, that *Cossus* for subduing that Nation obtain'd Triumphal Honours, and the Surname of *Gætulicus*. Several Expeditions were made against the *Germans*, and principally by *Tiberius*, who pierc'd with his Conquering Arms, as far as the *Visurgis* and *Albis*, did noble Service in those Parts, and gain'd great and rich Spoils, which caus'd both him and *Augustus* to receive again the Title of *Imperator*. But the most dangerous War was rais'd about this time by the *Dalmatians* and *Pannonians*, who now grown in Strength, and unsatisf'd with the Benefits of a long Peace, and the Burden of a longer Tribute, had revolted, and joyn'd with

all the Neighbouring Nations, gathering together an Army of 200000 Foot, and 9000 Horse, which very much threatn'd *Italy* and *Rome* it self. Levies were therefore made with the utmost Expedition, the veterane Soldiers recall'd from all Parts, and *Augustus* left *Rome*, and betook himself to *Ariminum*, for the greater Conveniency of Correspondence and Directions; and tho' personal Valour was not this Emperor's greatest Vertue, yet no Prince in the World gave wiser Orders upon all urgent Occasions, or cou'd transport himself with greater Expedition or Advantage into all Parts of his Dominions, when Occasion requir'd it. The War continu'd nigh three Years, with great Dangers and Difficulties, being principally manag'd by *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*, the latter of which gain'd extraordinary Honour and Reputation against those fierce People. Upon their Reduction, *Bato* their General being summon'd before *Tiberius's* Tribunal, was ask'd by him, *For what reason they wou'd revolt, and continue in Rebellion against the Roman Arms.* This General boldly reply'd, *That they themselves were the Aggressors, who instead of Dogs and Sheepherds to secure their Flocks, had appointed Wolves and Wild Beasts to devour 'em.*

Before this War was compleatly finish'd, *Augustus* in the Winter return'd to *Rome*, where great Complaints were made to him concerning the too great Number of the unmarried *Equites*, which in a great measure, proceeded from the Loosness of their Lives. This, together with the fatal Example of it to others, appear'd a Matter of so dangerous a Consequence to this good Emperor, that he immediately summon'd the whole Body of the *Equestrian* Order; where in the Assembly, he order'd the Marry'd and Unmarry'd Persons to be separately

separately plac'd : Then observing the former to be much inferior to the Latter in Number, after a high applauding of the Marry'd Sort, he told the other *That their Lives and Actions had been so peculiar, that he knew not by what Name to call 'em ; not by that of Men, for they perform'd nothing that was Manly ; not by that of Citizens, for the City might perish notwithstanding their Care ; nor by that of Romans, for they design'd to extirpate the Roman Name.* Then proceeding to shew his tender Care and hearty Affection for his People, he further told 'em, *That their Course of Life was of such pernicious Consequence to the Glory and Grandeur of the Roman Nation, that he cou'd not chuse but tell 'em, That all other Crimes put together, cou'd not equalize theirs : For they were guilty of Murder, in not suffering those to be born, which shou'd proceed from 'em ; of Impiety, in causing the Names and Honours of their Ancestors to cease ; and of Sacrilege, in destroying their Kind, which proceed from the Immortal Gods, and Humane Nature, the principal Thing consecrated to 'em.* Therefore in this respect, they dissolv'd the Government, in disobeying its Laws ; betray'd their Country, by making it Barren and Wast ; nay, and demolish'd their City, in depriving it of Inhabitants. And he was sensible that all this proceeded not from any kind of Vertue or Abstinence, but from a Looseness and Wantonness, which ought never to be encourag'd in any civil Government. Having finish'd his Speech, he immediately increas'd the Rewards of such as had Children, and impos'd considerable Fines upon unmarried Persons, allowing them the Term of a Year, in which Space if they comply'd, they were freed from the Penalty. Yet to shew that he wou'd discourage nothing that had the appearance of Vertue, he bestow'd upon such Women as had vow'd a perpetual Virginity, Rewards equal to Mothers. This same Year *Augustus* banish'd

Ovid,

Ovid, the famous Poet, into *Pontus*, for his Amorous Elegies, and his *Art of Love*, the Loosness of which being thought capable of corrupting a larger Empire than that of the *Romans*; tho' many suppose it was for such secret Crimes, or dangerous Discoveries, as must have been more fatal to him than Banishment. The Banishment of Ovid

Upon the finishing the Wars in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* return'd to *Rome*, where they were decreed Triumphal Honours, and Triumphal Arches in *Pannonia*, on which magnificent Trophies were plac'd. *Germanicus* for his excellent Services was also allow'd *Prætorian* Honours, and Liberty to stand for the Consulship, tho' only twenty four Years of Age. But the Joy of these Triumphs and new Advancements in *Rome* immediately vanish'd upon the dreadful News from *Germany* of the entire Defeat of *Quintilius Varus*; a Person rather of an Illustrious than a Noble Family, who Commanded in that Country, and acted as tho' the *Germans* were more easily curb'd by the *Roman* Laws than the *Roman* Sword. He had manag'd his Affairs with that exceeding Carelessness and Indiscretion, that the *Germans* by their Industry and Stratagems easily found Means to draw him into their Country through Woods and Marshes in separate Bodies, which caus'd the loss of his Life, and the entire destruction of three compleat Legions, with as many *Alæ*, and six Cohorts; an Overthrow the greatest that the *Romans* ever receiv'd since that of *Crassus* against the *Parthians* above 60 Years before. These were the best and choicest Legions of the whole Empire, either for Valour, Discipline, or Experience; so that the News of this loss at *Rome*, together with the defenceless State of *Italy* against the *Gauls* and *Germans*, put the City

City into a great Consternation, Guards being set in all Places to prevent Tumults and Disturbance. This was such a sensible Affliction to the good Old Emperor, that he let his Beard and Hair grow for several Months; and, as many write, did sometimes in a very disturb'd Manner, knock his Head against the Wall, crying, *Restore the Legions Varus!* He vow'd the great Games to *Jupiter*, when he recover'd the Commonwealth, as had been done formerly in the Wars of the *Cimbri* and *Marfi*; and he Yearly observ'd the Day of this Defeat as a Day of Mourning. Upon Intelligence, shortly after, that the *Germans* had not pass'd the *Rhine*, as was expected, nor made any great Advantage of their Victory, the Peoples Fears were much abated; however *Augustus* was still very diligent in raising what Men he cou'd procure, which he suddenly dispatch'd away under the Command of *Tiberius* into *Germany*.

Tiberius invaded *Germany* with much Vigour, together with *Germanicus*, who had the Power of Proconsul: They made great Devastations in many Parts, but subdu'd no Nation, nor fought any Battel, keeping chiefly about the *Rhine*, and prudently avoiding those false steps which ruin'd *Varus*. In the latter end of the Year they return'd to *Rome*, at which time Young *Drusus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, was made *Quæstor*, and sixteen *Prætors* were created at this time, tho' for many Years following there were but twelve. Some Disturbances being now rais'd by Augurs and Fortune-Tellers, *Augustus* wisely forbid all such Persons to use any publick or private Predictions concerning the Death of any Man; not that he was any way apprehensive himself, for he publickly expos'd the Scheme of the Heaven under which he was suppos'd to have been born. He also commanded,

manded, That none shou'd give Publick Honours to Governours of Provinces, during the Time of their Administration, nor within sixty Days after their Departure ; because by reason of the Honours and Applauses they receiv'd there, they often carry'd themselves haughtily, and acted injuriously to the Publick. He shew'd more than ordinary Kindness and Favour to *Germanicus*, who, according to his high Merits, was shortly after made Consul with *C. Cepito* ; and now *Augustus* being grown Ancient, in the 74th. Year of his Age, he by Writing recommended *Germanicus* to the Senate, and the Senate to *Tiberius*. He desir'd the Senate, *That they wou'd no longer salute him at the Palace, according to their Custom, nor take it amiss if for the future he cou'd not publicly converse with 'em as formerly.* Yet after this he did no ways throw off the Care and Concern of the Common-wealth, or give himself up to his Ease, but by many wise and vertuous Actions, shew'd himself still a hearty and zealous Lover of his People, and a true and affectionate Father of his Country.

The Year following the Consulship of *Germanicus*, *Augustus*'s fourth ten Years being expir'd, he with much Unwillingness took upon him the Government for ten longer ; but transferr'd the Authority of his perpetual *Tribune*-ship upon *Tiberius* ; and likewise granted his Son *Drusus* the Priviledge of standing for the Consulship within three Years. Finding it very inconvenient to come to the Senate by reason of his Age, he desir'd to have twenty Privy-Councillors assign'd him for a Year, having formerly but sixteen for six Months ; and it was decreed, That whatever he agreed upon with them, together with the Consuls, and his adopted Nephews,

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shou'd

A. D. 14.

shou'd have the same Force as if they were voted in the *Curia*. This Year *Augustus* made his Will, and deliver'd it to the Vestal Virgins; in the following he solemniz'd a *Census*, in which *Lustrum* were found four Millions and 137000 Heads in *Rome*, a number proportionable to the vastness of the *Roman* Dominions. While the Ceremonies were performing, with a mighty Concourse of People in the *Campus Martius*, an Eagle was observ'd to fly about him several Times, and directing her Flight to a Chappel, sat over the Name of *Agrippa*; which, with some other things of the like Nature, was by all look'd upon as a presaging Omen of his Death shortly after. The Augurs declar'd it wou'd be after a Hundred Days, from the first Letter of *Cæsar* being struck off his Statue by a Thunder-Bolt; at which time he shou'd be reckon'd among the Gods, for *AESAR* in the *Hetrurian* Tongue signifies a God. Shortly after he sent *Tiberius* into *Illyricum*, and accompany'd him as far as *Beneventum*; but returning back indispos'd by a *Diarrhæa*, he came to *Nola* nigh *Capua*, and there finding himself dangerously ill, he sent for *Tiberius* and his most inward Friends and Acquaintance; to whom he recommended many wise and useful Things, particularly telling 'em, That he had found *Rome* built of Brick, but he had left it of Marble, meaning not only the Beauty and Neatness of the Buildings, but also the Majesty and Firmness of the Empire. Then calling for a Looking-Glass, he caus'd his Hair to be Comb'd, and his wrinckl'd Cheeks to be smooth'd up, as an Actor upon the Stage, he ask'd his Friends, Whether he had play'd his Part well? And upon their answering, Yes, he cry'd, *Plaudite!* and so expir'd in the Embraces of his belov'd Wife *Livia*, bidding her Remember their Marriage, and Farewel. Such

The Death of
Augustus.

Such was the End of the great *Augustus*, who dy'd almost in the 76th. Year of his Age, to the unexpressible Grief of the whole City and Empire ; his Death being promoted, as some believe, by the exquisite Contrivances of *Livia*, who, by reason of a late private Visit to his Banish'd Grandson *Agrippa*, much fear'd the Disinheriting of her Son *Tiberius*. To draw his Character in short, He was a Person of the highest Learning and Eloquence, and the most amazing Wisdom and Sagacity ; and tho' he cannot be said to have had so large a Soul, and so vast a *Genius* as his Great Uncle *Julius Cæsar*, yet he had as Generous a Temper, a Mind as penetrating, and certainly a more regular Spirit. His principal Vices were his Love of Women, and his Cruelty and fallacious Actions in the second *Triumvirate* ; in the former he was not very excessive, except in relation to his own Wife *Livia* ; and the latter proceeded not from his Nature and Temper, but were purely the effects of his exquisite Policy : However, his innumerable Acts of Wisdom and Vertue afterwards, sufficiently wip'd away those Blots and Imperfections ; and never any Prince, in what Age soever was more universally Honour'd and Esteem'd by the greatest Potentates upon Earth, nor more truly Belov'd and Ador'd by his own Subjects. He is most properly call'd the Founder and Former of the *Roman Empire*, as *Julius Cæsar* is said to have mark'd it out, having Reign'd almost 41 Years, from the full Establishment of his Authority by the Senate and People, and 44 from the Death of his Rival *Anthony*, or rather from the Battel of *Actium*, from which time many will have his Reign to commence, as some will have it from the Death of *Julius Cæsar*, which makes his Reign 57 Years, according to that Account.

He dy'd in the 767th. Year of the City, the second of the 198th. Olympiad, and the 15th. Year of our Saviour *Christ*, leaving *Rome* in a state flourishing beyond all other Cities in the World.

CHAP. II.

From the Death of Augustus, to the Death of Tiberius the Third Emperor, who debas'd, and brought the chief Corruptions into the Roman Empire.

Containing the space of above 22 Years.

A. D. 15. I. **T**HE Affairs of the Empire were now so unsettled, and the Fears of *Livia* so strong, that for some space the Death of *Augustus* was kept secret, lest upon the Absence of *Tiberius* in *Illyricum*, some Tumults and Disturbances might happen to his Disadvantage. It is very doubtful, whether *Tiberius* at his Return found him alive or dead; for *Livia* had carefully guarded and secured the Passages to the House, sometimes intimating his Recovery, and again a Relapse; till having settled Matters as the Time and Occasion requir'd, the same Report which not long before brought the joyful News of *Augustus*'s Amendment, now publish'd his Death, and that *Tiberius* was in actual possession of the Empire. In the time of these secret Practices and Contrivances, Young *Agrippa*, whom *Augustus* had banish'd, was now murder'd by Order of *Tiberius*, with this Report made, *That it was done by the particular appointment of Augustus, who had given charge to the Centurion that guarded him, to dispatch him upon the first Intelligence*

Young Agrippa murder'd.

gence of his Death. And *Tiberius*, the better to support this Story, when the Centurion gave him an Account, *That he had perform'd his Commands*, immediately answer'd him, *That he had given him no such Command, and that he shou'd answer it before the Senate.* *Crispus Sallustius*, who was acquainted with the greatest Secrets of *Tiberius*, hearing of this, and fearing his own danger, immediately advis'd *Livia*, *By no means to divulge the Secrets of her House, the Counsel of Friends, and the Services of Soldiers; and that Tiberius shou'd beware of weakening and diminishing the Sovereign Authority, by referring all Things to the Senate; the Nature of Absolute Power being such as cou'd not be preserv'd intire but in one alone.* By which means the whole Matter was hush'd and pass'd over without any further Noise or Enquiry about it.

In the mean time the Body of *Augustus* was born by the principal Men of the several Cities from *Nola* to *Rome*, where it was receiv'd in a solemn and pompous manner by the *Equites*, and brought into the City by Night. The Day following the Senate were assembled by vertue of *Tiberius's* *Tribunitial* Power, to which Assembly the Senators came only in their *Equestrian* Habit, and the Magistrates in their *Senatorial*, except the *Prætexta*. *Tiberius* and his Son *Drusus* both appear'd in deep Mourning, and offer'd Incense at their coming, omitting the usual Ceremony of Trumpeters. The Senators being seated in their usual Places, and the Consuls at this time below 'em, *Tiberius* began a consolatory Oration to 'em, but suddenly stopp'd in the beginning of his Speech, as unable to restrain the Violence of his Sorrow, and with a profound Sigh wish'd, *That not only his Voice, but his Life might fail him; and at the same time gave his Notes to his Son Drusus*

to read 'em out. After which *Polybius*, one of *Augustus's* Freed-Men, publicly read his Will in the Senate-House, wherein he made *Tiberius* and *Livia* his Heirs; and by that *Livia* was likewise adopted into the *Julian* Family, and Intituled by the Name of *Augusta*. Here he gave considerable Legacies to many Private Persons, to those of the *Prætorian* Guards, to the Legionary Soldiers, and to all the Inhabitants of *Rome*. He was very bountiful to the Children of many, but wou'd not restore his Daughter *Julia*, Wife to *Tiberius*; but particularly forbad her being bury'd in his Sepulchre, notwithstanding he left her a Legacy in his Will. Besides his Will, four other Writings of his were produc'd at this time: In one he had left Instructions concerning his Funeral: In another, an enumeration was made of his several Exploits, which was to be cut in Pillars of Brass, and plac'd before his Monument. The third Writing contain'd, an account of the Provinces, Forces, and Revenues of the Empire, with the Issues, Arrears, State of the Treasury, with other Matters belonging to the Publick. In the fourth he gave many wise Instructions and Directions to *Tiberius* and the Commonwealth: Among other things there, it was his Opinion, *That they ought carefully to endeavour the committing the Government to Persons best qualify'd for it, and not to allow too much Authority to one Man, lest he shou'd turn Tyrant, or his Ruine endanger the Common-wealth.* He likewise charg'd 'em, *To be satisfy'd with their present Fortune, and not to desire the Enlargement of the Empire's Bounds; for it being difficult to keep what they had already gain'd, they wou'd probably, by endeavouring to obtain more, lose what they now possess'd.* After this follow'd his Funeral, which was solemniz'd with extraordinary Pomp and Magnificence, *Tiberius* him-

himself making his Funeral Oration, which he did with such Eloquence and Artifice as suited both the Greatness of his Parts and the Depth of his Designs. It was decreed that Women shou'd mourn for him a whole Year; Temples were erected to him, Divine Honours allow'd him, and a Sum of Money given by *Livia* to *Numerius Atticus*, a Senator, as *Dion* relates it, for having sworn that he saw him ascending into Heaven, as *Proculus* anciently had said of *Romulus*.

The People of *Rome* at this time began to raise various Discourses, and several had great Expectations of their ancient Liberties; but now the *Consuls*, *Senators*, and *Equites* ran headlong into Servitude, as *Tacitus* writes; and that Complaisance and just Esteem they had for the Person of *Augustus*, was now degenerated into base Fawnings and vile Flatteries to *Tiberius*. All Suits and Petitions were now made to him; and being offered the Government in the Senate, tho' he had already secur'd it to himself, he with much Artifice began to discourse of the Greatness of the *Roman Empire*, and in modest Terms of his own Insufficiency, thought the Care and Wisdom of *Augustus* only capable of so weighty a Charge: That himself, being advanc'd by *Augustus* as an Associate and Partner in the State, had by sufficient Proofs learnt the Difficulties, Contingencies, and Dangers inseparably annex'd to Rule and Sovereignty: And since the City was so happily replenish'd with great Numbers of famous and worthy Persons, it were highly more advantageous, that many by joyning their Cares and Counsels, shou'd undertake this Charge, than to lay the whole Burden upon one Man. After which he express'd himself in more doubtful and ambiguous Terms than before, till the whole Body of the Senators, in the most low and humble Manner imaginable, begg'd of

him to accept of the Government. *Tiberius* then insinuating, *That he was unable to take Charge of the whole, but at their Requests was willing to undertake the Protection of any one Part they should think proper to assign him; Asinius Gallus ask'd him, What Part he was willing to accept of? Which unexpected Demand much startled Tiberius, who for a while stood mute; but recovering himself, he with a subtle Coldness answer'd, That it ill became his Modesty to chuse or refuse any one Part of that, from all which he begg'd to be excus'd. Gallus perceiving him inwardly offended, as readily reply'd, That he did not offer that Question, as tho' he design'd to divide what in it self was inseparable; but by his own Confession to convince him, That the Common-wealth was but one Body, and consequently to be govern'd by the Wisdom of one Person. Then continuing his Speech, he insist-ed upon the great Merits and Accomplishments of Tiberius, and enlarg'd upon the noble Victories and Conquests he had gain'd abroad; all which wou'd by no means appease his private Anger and secret Malice against him. At length Tiberius being wearied by the Clamours of all in general, and the Importunities of some in particular, by little and little yielded to their Requests; not so much because he wou'd confess, That he took so mighty a Charge as that of the Roman Empire upon him, as to finish all troublesome Denials, and all further Intreaties: Adding at last, That he wou'd accept and keep the Empire, till such time as they in their great Prudence shou'd think fit to give Repose to his Old Age. Thus was a crafty Dissimulation on one Side, and a more dangerous Flattery on the other, carry'd to a Degree that prov'd very injurious to the Roman State and People.*

Tiberius was now Fifty six Years of Age, when he enter'd upon the Government; and was not well

*Tiberius
takes upon
him the Em-
pire.*

well settled in his Throne, when he receiv'd Intelligence that the Legions in *Pannonia* or *Hungary*, hearing of the Death of *Augustus*, and desiring Novelties and a more licentious Freedom, had mutinied and revolted from *Julius Blæsus* their Commander, a Captain call'd *Percentius* being Principal of the Mutiny. Against these *Tiberius* sent his Son *Drusus* with the utmost Diligence, who, after their requiring many great and unreasonable Advantages, quieted 'em with much Danger and Difficulty, first by taking advantage of a total Eclipse of the Moon which had much discourag'd 'em, and then by putting to Death *Percentius*, with some other Persons most engag'd in this Mutiny. As this Accident had much mov'd *Tiberius*, and caus'd him to be extremely cautious in his Government at home, another had still greater Effects upon him: For almost at the same time, and for the same Causes, the Legions of *Germany*, in the Absence of *Germanicus* their General, rebell'd; which prov'd the more violent and dangerous, as being far more strong and numerous than the other. These boldly began to affirm, *That the whole Roman Empire was in their Hands, and that its principal Grandeur was owing to their Arms and Conquests*; and when *Germanicus* arriv'd at the Camp, they unanimously resolv'd to chuse him Emperor, in opposition to *Tiberius*. *Germanicus* was the Soldiers Darling, and was almost Idoliz'd by 'em; so that he might with no great Difficulties have rais'd himself to the highest Dignity in the *Roman State*: But his unbounded Greatness of Mind and Generosity wou'd not permit him to accept of any such Offer; tho' his Refusal, and his indefatigable Endeavours to appease the Soldiers, often endanger'd his Life. His great Loyalty here put him with his Wife and Children

The Death of
Julia.

Children to the extremest Hazards imaginable; till at last, by his industrious Skill and wise Conduct, by a home and unexpected cutting off many of the principal Revolters, and a quick and sudden turning his Forces against the *Germans*, he wholly quieted these Disturbances. *Tiberius* extremely rejoyc'd at this News, but was much dissatisfied to find *Germanicus* succeed so prosperously in this and other Actions; tho' at the same time he highly applauded all his Exploits before the Senate, who for this and other great Successes against the *Germans*, shortly after decreed him great Honours. In the same Year died *Julia* in extreme Want and Misery, being first depriv'd of her Annual Pensions by her Husband *Tiberius*, and then of all Hopes or Assistance; an End suitable to one who had so vilely debas'd her self, and so publicly scandaliz'd the noblest Family in the World.

The late dangerous Disorders in *Germany*, together with the venerable Esteem all had for *Germanicus*, was a severe Restraint to the Actions of *Tiberius*, who now with a wonderful Dissimulation conceal'd those Vices and Enormities which afterwards display'd themselves so openly; and in almost all things acted like a truly generous, discreet, and mild Prince. He utterly rejected many of those great Names and Titles of Honour, which were so readily offer'd him by the Senate, and wou'd not allow 'em to build any Temples to him. He likewise forbid 'em to erect any Statues to him, without express Command; and if at any time he did permit it, it was with this particular Caution, *That they shou'd not place 'em among the Images of the Gods*, as they had done many others. He seem'd much displeas'd when he heard himself prais'd and extoll'd, and wholly refus'd the Title of *Father of his Country*, which the People

People had often, and with great Applauses attributed to him. Nor wou'd he permit any to swear to the Observation of his Ordinances, tho' the Senate were there consenting to it; affirming, *That all Mortal Things were mutable and uncertain, and the higher he was rais'd, his State wou'd be the more expos'd to Danger and Ruine.* He dissembled likewise an extraordinary Patience and Meekness upon all Occasions; and tho in the Senate there pass'd some Things contrary to his Will and Opinion, and in other Affairs he met with some Opposition, yet he seem'd not the least displeas'd or offended. And understanding that some spoke very detractingly of him, and us'd many opprobrious Speeches against him and his Administration, he shew'd no Discontent or Alteration; but mildly said, *That in a free City, the Tongues of Men ought to be free also.* And when the Senate wou'd have exhibited Informations, and have proceeded against some who had publish'd Libels against him, he wou'd not consent to it, alledging, *That he had greater and more useful Employment, than to embarrass himself with such Trivial Matters;* adding further, *That he wou'd use no other Punishment against such as defam'd him, than troubling 'em with keeping an Account of his Actions; if that were insufficient, he cou'd satisfie himself with having as small an Esteem for them, as they had for him.*

By these and other Acts of Patience and Clemency, he not only cover'd over his Cruelty, Pride, and Ambition, but by his extraordinary Address, he for a time mask'd his Incontinence, Loosness, and Avarice, which last was his most apparent Passion; all which he did with such exquisite Artifices, that he seem'd to be no ways infected with these Vices. And when some Governours of Provinces demonstrated to him by what Means

Means he might easily encrease his Revenues from thence, he with some concern answer'd, *That a good Shepherd ought to shear, but never to flea his Flock*; and immediately abated some Tributes, and conferr'd Honours upon some particular Persons there. He conceal'd his luxurious Temper by restraining the Delicacies of Eating-houses and Taverns, and his libidinous Disposition by severely punishing and banishing many dishonest Matrons and loose Young Men; and in this Particular he was so strict, that by Proclamation he prohibited the Kisses which were daily given by way of Salutation. In the Administration and Execution of Justice he made many good and laudable Beginnings, taking exact Care for the preventing of Thieves and Robbers, which were grown very numerous and inconvenient in *Italy*; and that Justice shou'd be truly and regularly executed in all Towns and Villages. And to ease the Citizens of *Rome*, he caus'd the *Prætorian Cohorts*, which were the Emperor's Guards, to encamp and lodge themselves without the City-Walls in the Fields, where they were oblig'd to continue, being us'd in the Palace by Parties and by Turns. For a considerable time his Carriage towards the Senate was very respectful, to which Assembly he shew'd a high Esteem, giving them so great an Authority in all Publick Matters, that he acted nothing of moment without their Counsel, desiring that all shou'd be done by their Advice and Consent. Having one Day in a Publick Matter dissented in his Opinion from *Q. Haterius* in the Senate, *Pardon me, I beseech you*, said he, *if as a Senator I speak against you with more Freedom than ordinary*: Then turning to the whole Assembly, he said, *Most venerable Fathers, I now but repeat what I formerly said, That a good and prudent Prince,*

to whom you have given so great and absolute a Power, ought to be as serviceable as possible to the Senate and Body of the City : Nor do I repent of any Thing I have said in this nature, having always accounted you my good, just, and most gracious Lords. The Senate on the other side, continually return'd him the most extravagant Praises and Commendations, as likewise did many of the Nobility ; so that no Prince upon Earth was ever accompanied with more servile Flatterers than he ; which he perfectly knew how to use and manage to the enslaving and weakening the State. And at his first coming to his Throne, the Romans seem'd far more dispos'd to serve, than he to command ; and gave up themselves to Slavery at a time, when he cou'd scarcely have hop'd for their Subjection.

In the mean time *Germanicus* with admirable Skill and Success proceeded in the Wars against the *Germans*, overthrowing 'em in several Battels, subduing the *Angriuari*, the *Cherufci*, and the *Chatti*, with other fierce Nations beyond the *Rhine*, recovering the Ensigns lost by *Varus*, and erecting several magnificent Trophies and Monuments in Honour to the *Roman* State and Emperor. Upon one of which he modestly put this Title, *The People between the Rhine and the Elbe being vanquish'd*, *Tiberius Caesar's Army dedicates these Monuments to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus* ; not so much as mentioning his own Name, to avoid all Envy, or because the Memory of the Action was a sufficient Testimony of him, as *Tacitus* observes. But as all his cautious and dutiful Proceedings cou'd not extinguish the Jealousies and Suspicions of *Tiberius*, so his great Fortune and Successes only serv'd to blow up his Envy and Hatred ; which began to appear in his using so many plausible Pretences to draw *Germanicus* from the German Legions,

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Legions, which he knew wou'd serve him to the utmost. But at present *Tiberius* was more busily imploy'd in suppressing a Domestick Insurrection made in *Italy* by one *Clemens*, a Slave to that *Agrippa*, who had been Slain immediately after the Death of *Augustus*. This Person being about the same Age, and very much of the same Shape with his Lord, took upon him his Name, and caus'd it to be reported in all Parts, *That Agrippa by the peculiar Goodness of the Gods, was still preserv'd alive*; which rais'd great Tumults in many Parts of *Italy*, and brought over great Numbers of loose and Seditious People, *Clemens* himself boldly pretending a Right to the Empire. But as his Pretensions had but a weak Foundation, and himself a small Respect from Persons of Note, so he was soon defeated, by a Stratagem taken Prisoner, and brought before *Tiberius*, who having ask'd him how he was made *Agrippa*, the Fellow answer'd, *As you were made Cæsar*. Tho' *Tiberius* had him wholly in his Power, yet so great was his Fear, or his Policy, that he did not punish him publicly, but in a secret Place of his Palace, commanded him to be executed, and his Body to be privately convey'd away. And tho' many of the Emperor's own House, Senators and Nobility, were said to have supported him with their Purfes, and assisted him with their Counsels; yet he made no further Enquiry after any such Persons.

Tiberius had now quell'd all Domestick Disturbances according to his Desires, but still the Actions and Exploits of *Germanicus* encreas'd his Fears and Jealousies, and made him extremely unsatisfi'd. He had frequently sought for plausible Pretences of drawing him from *Germany*; and the Affairs of this Year presented him with the

the fairest Opportunity for that purpose, that he cou'd expect: For at this time the *Parthians* having first slain two of their Kings, and refus'd their lawful Successor, whom *Tiberius* had freed from being his Hostage, they made War against the *Roman* Empire, breaking the Peace ratifi'd in *Augustus's* Reign, and enter'd *Armenia*, whose King was a Tributary of the *Romans*. *Tiberius*, that he might proceed more by Policy than Authority, having procur'd *Germanicus* a Triumph decreed for his Exploits in *Germany*, writ to him, To return to the Triumph which had been so justly decreed him; telling him besides, That he was truly sensible that he had pass'd through numerous Dangers and Hazards; that he had the most desirable Success in many honourable Battels; that he had been sent nine Times into *Germany* by *Augustus* of famous Memory, where he had achiev'd many noble Exploits both by his Counsel and Courage: But since he had received the Submission of so many People and Nations, and since the *Romans* had sufficient Revenge on 'em, he thought it most proper to leave those Nations to finish their own Wars. But *Germanicus* shewing no Inclination to a Triumph, and earnestly begging for one Year longer to finish the Enterprises he had begun; *Tiberius* more closely assaulted his Modesty, by offering him the Consulship once more, which he shou'd execute in Person. *Germanicus* now thought he cou'd not with Decency any longer withstand these pressing Importunities, and finding the Season very far advanc'd, he made no longer stay in *Germany*; tho' he was well satisfi'd that these were all but colourable Pretences, and the Effects of Envy, to draw him from the Glory he had already obtain'd. Before his Arrival at *Rome*, upon the account of his Victories, a Temple was built to *Fortune*, in the Gardens which *Julius Caesar* had given

given to *Rome*; and likewise a Chappel dedicated to the *Julian* Family, with a fair Image erected to *Augustus*.

Germanicus's Triumph.

In the beginning of the following Year, *Germanicus* triumph'd, and after a very Magnificent Manner, an Honour now more uncommon than formerly. The extraordinary Gracefulness of his Person and Carriage, and his Triumphal Chariot loaden with five of his Children most beautifully adorn'd, added much to the Pomp and Splendor; and the Joy was the more universal, both because of his being so extremely belov'd, and because of his Recovering the Ensigns and Standards lost by *Varus*, which had been a most mortifying Disgrace to the *Roman* Nation. *Tiberius* in the Name of *Germanicus*, gave to all the People 300 Sesterces each Man, and the succeeding Year made him his Colleague in his Consulship. Yet these Favours did not thoroughly satisfy the People, who now perceiv'd some Signs of *Tiberius's* Envy towards *Germanicus*: And at this time his Base and Treacherous Disposition, began to discover it self in some few Instances; particularly as to *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, whom he maliciously remember'd, for not shewing any Duty to him when he continu'd at *Rhodes*, many Years before. For which reason, after he had allur'd him over to *Rome*, with many gracious Promises of Kindness, he caus'd him to be unjustly accus'd, and committed to Prison; where shortly after this unfortunate King dy'd in great Misery and Extremities, his Kingdom being upon this made tributary to *Rome*. At the same time *Antiochus* King of *Comagena*, and *Philopater* King of *Gilicia*, being both dead, some Differences arose in those Nations, to the Prejudice of the *Romans*; and likewise *Syria* and *Judæa*, overcharged with Taxes,

es, made earnest Supplications for Easements. All these Accidents, together with the *Parthian* and *Armenian* Wars, much hastned the Designs of *Tiberius*; who plausibly represented to the Senate, *That the Disturbances in the East, cou'd by no Means be so effectually suppress'd, as by the Presence of Germanicus in those Parts.* Whereupon all the Provinces in *Asia* were readily decreed to *Germanicus*, and a larger Power and Command given him, than had been granted to any Governor before him. But *Tiberius* to balance and restrain the Power of *Germanicus* as much as possible, had before depos'd his great Friend *C. Silanus* from being Governour of *Syria*, and sent *Cn. Piso* in his Place, a Person of a rash and headstrong Temper, and in every Respect, fit to execute those fatal Purposes for which he was Chiefly design'd. His Wife *Plancia*, who was of a more haughty Temper than he himself, had likewise secret Instructions from *Tiberius* and *Livia*, to procure and excite all the Envy and Hatred they cou'd against *Germanicus*; and even his Death, if Occasion shou'd require it, as it afterwards appear'd.

The same Year that *Germanicus* was made Consul with *Tiberius*, he departed from *Rome*, for his Eastern Expedition, carrying with him his Wife *Agrippina* and his Children; and arriving at *Lesbos*, his Wife in her last Delivery had *Julia*. The mean time *Piso*, pursuant of his Designs, by Gifts, Flatteries, and all imaginable base Means, was industriously gaining the Hearts and Affections of the Army against *Germanicus*, whom he took the Liberty of abusing and vilifying beyond Measure. But *Germanicus* more pursu'd the glorious Ends of his Expedition, than observ'd the private Designs of *Piso*; and in a short time by his wise and diligent Management, he plac'd a King in *Armenia*,

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who

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who was a Friend and Ally of the *Romans* : And the Kingdoms of *Comagena* and *Cilicia* being void by the Deaths of their Kings, he reduc'd those Countries into Provinces, and plac'd *Prætors* and Governours there ; in the former *Q. Servius*, in the latter *Q. Veranius*, Moderating in them the Royal Subsidies and Tributes. After this he manag'd his Affairs with so much Skill and Dexterity, that he in a very short time constrain'd the King of *Parthia*, to sue for Peace and Alliance ; which he granted and concluded , much to the Honour of the Empire, and the *Roman* Name. However *Piso* and his Wife *Plancina* continu'd to defame him, and openly to tax his Proceedings ; all which Affronts *Germanicus* suffer'd with great Prudence and Patience, still carrying himself towards 'em with that Courtesie and Civility which was peculiar to him ; well knowing the Original Spring of their Designs and Actions. And now having happily finish'd the *Parthian* War, he took a Voyage into *Egypt*, principally to view the Rarities and Antiquities of that famous Country ; which highly offended *Tiberius* , for presuming to enter that Province, as he writ to him, when Augustus among other Secrets of State, had strictly forbidden all Senators, Noble-Men and Knights, to travel thither, without special Permission. In the Absence of *Germanicus*, *Piso* had form'd such Plots and Designs against him, that when he understood of his Return, he for his better Security, departed out of his Province. But as he had practis'd his Death, he went not for far ; but remain'd for some few Days in a small Island. During which time, *Germanicus* coming to *Antioch*, was there poyson'd with a slow working Poyson, by the Practices of *Piso* and his Wife, but by the Directions and Counsel of *Tiberius*, as most Authors are of Opinion.

Germanicus
poyson'd.

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The unfortunate *Germanicus* now finding his End approaching, call'd for his Friends about him, and spoke to 'em after this Manner. Since I am so suddenly snatcht from you, my Faithful Friends, and my too much lov'd Country, my last Favour to you is, that you would signifie to my Father and Brother, with what Cruelty torn, with what Fraud circumvented, I have finish'd my miserable Life, with a most inglorious Death. If Hopes conceiv'd of me have mov'd any; if Proximity of Blood have excited any; nay, if Envy towards me when living has provok'd any; they now will weep, to find Him, who before flourish'd, and escap'd so many Battels and eminent Dangers, to end his Life by the perfidious Arts and Treachery of a Woman. But you I am sure will do something more: You will revenge my Death. Therefore shew to the Roman People my Wife, the Grand-Child of Augustus, and my Children; and the Actors themselves will have Remorse; and those who pretend Wicked Commands, will either not be believed, or not pardon'd. His Friends with weeping Eyes, taking him by the Right Hand, all Swore, That they would sooner lose their Lives, than their Revenge. Then turning to his Wife, he conjur'd her by his Memory, and all the Bonds of Nuptial Love, That she would lay aside her aspiring Mind, and submit her Courage to the cruel Shocks of Fortune, lest at her Return to the City, by Emulation of Greatness, she shou'd procure the Mortal Enmity of two more powerful than her self. Thus much he spoke openly, other Things he said in Secret, and shortly after expir'd, to the exceeding Grief of his Province, and all the foreign Princes in those Parts; so great had his Courtesie been to the Allies, and his Mildness to Enemies. Thus dy'd the noble and most valiant Captain *Germanicus*, in the 34th Year of his Age; a Person of admirable Vertues, rare Accomplish-

ments, and of a most sweet Disposition ; and a Person perfectly skill'd in a just Compliance and Obedience, yet most worthy of the highest Authority and Command. He was nearer Ally'd to the Empire than *Tiberius* himself, his Mother *Antonia* being Daughter to *Anthony* and *Octavia*, and his Wife *Agrippina* Daughter to *Agrippa* and *Julia* ; and he left behind him three Sons, *Nero*, *Drusus*, and *Caligula*, and as many Daughters. His Death hapn'd in the sixth Year of *Tiberius's* Reign, and the 772^d Year of the City ; the Year before which, dy'd *Livy* the renown'd Historian, and *Ovid* the famous Poet, in his Banishment.

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II. *Tiberius* was now freed from the Person so much belov'd by others, and so much dreaded by himself ; yet still he was oblig'd to stand the Shock of an After-Blow, proceeding from the Peoples Heat and Resentments. For never was a greater and more real Sorrow in *Rome*, than at the News of the Death of *Germanicus* ; and without any Edict of Magistrates, or Decree of Senate, Vacation was suddenly made, the Places of Judgment abandon'd, Shops and Houses shut up, and great Sighs and Mournings heard in every Street. A violent Rage and Fury appear'd among many, and grievous Complaints and Murmurings were made against *Piso*, and against the Emperor himself with his Mother *Livia* ; all which Troubles were renew'd, and encreas'd at the Arrival of *Agrippina*, shortly after with the Ashes of her Husband. At her first Landing, she was met by innumerable Multitudes of People from *Rome*, and from most Cities and Towns in *Italy*, all Manifesting their mighty Esteem and Affection ; especially the Old Soldiers, many of which had serv'd under this
great

great General, who gave the highest Marks and Testimonies of their deep Concern, and unfeign'd Sadness. At the City she was met by the Senate and whole People of *Rome*, with a strange and wonderful Mixture of Lamentations and Acclamations; *Tiberius* himself outwardly appearing as deeply concern'd as any other, for the untimely End of his Adopted Son. On the Day that the Ashes were reposit'd in the Tomb of *Augustus*, all were in a profound Silence in the former Part, when of a Sudden they broke out into lowd Cries and Lamentations, and the *Campus Martius* was fill'd with mighty Throngs of People, and shin'd like the Day with blazing Torches; where the Soldiers and People with extream Passion cry'd out, *The Common-Wealth was fallen to the ground!* not considering the Temper of the present Governors. *Tiberius* most craftily dissembl'd all this, but nothing so sensibly touch'd him, as the ardent Affection the People shew'd to *Agrippina*; calling Her, *The Honour of their Country, the true Pattern of Antiquity, and the only Blood of the great Augustus*; and turning towards Heaven, and praying, *That her Issue might continue long, and outlive the Wicked.*

The People's zealous Affection towards *Agrippina*, was not more remarkable than their violent Hatred to *Piso*, whom they publicly accus'd of Murdering *Germanicus*. *Piso* having now overcome all Fear and Modesty, and presuming upon the great Favour of *Tiberius*, shortly after came to *Rome*; where in behalf of *Agrippina*, and her Friends, he was accus'd before the Senate of many other Crimes besides the Death of *Germanicus*; particularly, That he had corrupted the Common Soldiers with Licentiousness and Debauchery, and had done great Injury to the Confederates;

That he was call'd *Father of the Legions* by all the lewder sort; that he had been barbarous and cruel to all good Men, and had born Arms against the State. He defended himself but weakly against these Accusations, only the Poysoning of *Germanicus*, cou'd not be so evidently made appear, as some other things. However the Anger and Severity of the Judges, the Cries and Threats of the People, and above all the Artifices and Dissimulations of *Tiberius*, drove him to such Extremities, that before his Case could be finally determin'd, he was found dead in his Bed, by his own Hands, as was conjectur'd. He had been often seen with a little Book in his Hand, which as his Friends reported, contain'd the Emperor's Letter and Commission to kill *Germanicus*; all which he design'd to have shewn openly in the Senate, and to have charg'd *Tiberius* with the Murder, had he not been cunningly deluded by his Favourite *Sejanus's* vain Promises: And moreover, they affirm'd, *That he kill'd not himself, but was privately murder'd by a Person sent for that purpose.* His Wife *Plancina*, who is said to have been more guilty than Himself, by the Perswasion and Intercession of *Livia*, escap'd publick Punishment; and thus all Disturbances rais'd upon this Account, were by degrees quieted.

Tiberius having now got free from all his Troubles and Jealousies, began to pull off the Mask, and to appear somewhat more bare-fac'd in his vicious Actions and loose Life, tho' not yet so open in his Tyrannical Designs. However it was apparent to many, that he had much receded from the wise Maxims of his Predecessor *Augustus*, all whose publick Actions manifestly tended to the general Happiness of the Roman People

ple and Empire: But the Maxims of this Emperor taught him to make a Science of the Closet, wherein was shut up a false and mysterious Interest of the Prince, separate from the Interest of the State, and almost always contrary to the Publick Good. Here Judgment, Capacity, and the wise Secrets of State, were converted into Slinefs, Artifice, and a dangerous Diffimulation; where there cou'd be no knowing of Good and Evil Actions of themselves, but every thing was taken according to the nice Intention of the Emperor, or judg'd by the Fineness of some malicious Speculation. He began more and more to diminish the Power and Authority of the Senate, which Design was much facilitated by the nauseous Flatteries of most People; a Vice which had now so overspread and corrupted the City, that not only the common Nobility were oblig'd in that servile Manner to sustain their Reputation, but such as had been *Consuls* and *Prætors*, and also many *Senators* strove who shou'd propound Things most vile and fordid, as *Tacitus* assures us. It is also written, That as *Tiberius* was wont to go out of the Senate and Publick Assemblies, he often said in *Greek*, *O Nation, ready for Servitude!* as tho' he, who cou'd so little endure the Publick Liberty, did yet abhor such base and servile Submission, which, by little and little, fell from indecent Flatteries to Practices more lewd.

Above a Year after the Death of *Germanicus*, *Tiberius* made himself Consul, taking also his Son *Drusus* for his Colleague; after which feigning an Indisposition, he retir'd from *Rome* as for the Recovery of his Health, but with Design that his Sons Government shou'd facilitate his Settlement and Establishment in the Empire after his Decease. During the Time of this Government, several

Nations of the *Gauls* made Insurrections, being unable to endure the heavy Tributes and severe Exactions which *Tiberius* had lately impos'd upon 'em. The principal Leaders and Promoters of this Rebellion, were two Valiant and Hardy Men, call'd *Florus* and *Sacrobis*, whose Arms were so prosperous in the beginning, that *Rome* it self was in some kind of Consternation, there being much more reported there than prov'd true. This was a great Concern to *Tiberius*, who never had Commanded in the Field since he came to the Empire, and had now forgotten all his former Valour and Bravery, and had given himself up to Vice and Sensuality in his Old Age. But *Caius Silius*, who Commanded in those Parts, march'd speedily with his Legions against these Revolters, and in one general Battel put 'em to Flight, and destroy'd great numbers of 'em, by which he settl'd and suppress'd all the Disturbances in *Gaul*. *Drusus* the mean time diligently imploy'd himself in his new Government; and the Year following, his Father gave him the *Tribunitial* Power. In which Year *Tacfarinas*, a great and powerful Man in *Numidia*, who had rebell'd and been defeated by *L. Astronicus* two Years before, was now again overthrown and reduc'd by *Blæsus*; and for that Service *Tiberius* gave him the Honour of being saluted *Imperator* by his Legions, according to the ancient Custom.

Tiberius, tho he had carefully endeavour'd, and successfully gain'd so strict a Command over the Persons of others, yet he had the Misfortunes of being in a great measure rul'd by his Favourite *Sejanus*, a Roman Knight, bold and aspiring in his Attempts, close and crafty in his Designs, but modest in outward shew and appearance. This Person had by many ingenious Sleights, and cunning

*Sejanus his
Rise.*

ning Insinuations, so gain'd upon the Affections of the Emperor, that tho' he was ever reserv'd and secret to others, he became free and open to him, making him Captain of the *Prætorian* Guards, and advancing him to the highest Dignities ; besides, he extoll'd him in the Senate as an Associate in his Labours, permitting his Statues to be set up in the Theatres and other Publick Places. These extraordinary Favours so swell'd him, that he thought of nothing less than the Empire it self; as a step to which he first turn'd the Force of his Designs against *Drusus*, with whom he was highly incens'd, by reason of some late Affronts. In order to this Attempt, he address'd himself to *Drusus's* Wife *Livia*, Sister to *Germanicus*, and by many Pretences of a most violent Passion for her, he enjoy'd her; after which he put her in great hopes of Marriage, and Fellowship in the Empire, *if she would be assistant in Murdering her Husband.* All which was easily effected by the means of *Drusus poy-*
son'd. *Lydgus* an Eunuch, and a slow working Poyson, which was chosen to make his Death appear to be the Effects of some casual Distemper. Great Murmurings arose in *Rome* upon this Account; tho' the greatest part of the People were not much concern'd, having now hopes that *Germanicus's* Children shou'd succeed in the Empire, whom they highly respected and esteem'd for their Father's sake. *Tiberius* shew'd much concern at first, but in a great measure laying aside the Care for Him, or the Publick, he unexpectedly shorten'd the Vacation upon this Occasion; and shew'd so little Respect to him, that when the Ambassadors from *Troy* or *Ilium* came somewhat late with their Complements of Condolency, he told 'em in Derision, *That he also cou'd not but lament their Misfortunes, in having lost so brave and eminent a Citizen*

as Hector. *Drusus's* Death happen'd on the ninth Year of *Tiberius's* Reign ; in which and the following Year the War with *Tacfarinas* in *Africa* was renew'd , and concluded by *Pub. Dolabella*, with the Death of *Tacfarinas* himself. *Dolabella* petitioning for the Honour of Triumph, *Tiberius* deny'd it him, lest the Glory of his Uncle *Blæsus* before him shou'd be obscur'd thereby ; but gave it to *Sejanus*, who had perform'd nothing to deserve it.

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Tiberius's Ten Years Government being now expir'd, he took upon him the Imperial Authority for Ten Years longer, without receiving it from the Senate and People, as *Augustus* had done for five Times successively ; after which, by *Tiberius's* Means, it became a mere Ceremony, and none of those Ends preserv'd for which it was first design'd. And now the State and Empire began to be more and more corrupted by the sinister Designs of its Prince ; distant Honours and Employments were generally so many mysterious Exiles ; and Charges and Governments were chiefly given to Persons design'd for Ruine, or for the Ruine of others. So that the Benefit of Merits and good Services were rarely consider'd ; for the Armies had rather Out-Laws than Generals, and the Provinces Banish'd Men than Governours. All which Inconveniencies and Corruptions were very much promoted by the vile Practices of *Sejanus*, who at present was likewise conspiring the Ruine of *Germanicus's* Children, the undoubted Successors to the Empire. But finding the inviolable Fidelity of their Keepers, and the invincible Chastity of *Agrippina*, and that these and many other Designs cou'd not be easily effected while the Emperor continu'd in the City ; he contriv'd to perswade *Tiberius* to retire to some pleasant Place remote from

from Rome. By this he foresaw many Advantages to himself; as that there cou'd be no Access to the Prince but by him; that all Letters being convey'd by Soldiers at his Devotion, shou'd pass through his Hands; that *Tiberius* declining in Age, and grown sloathful and effeminate through the Solitude of the Place, wou'd disburden himself of the Cares of the State; and by these Means, all vain Shadows remov'd, he might grow Mighty in real Power and Authority. Therefore by little and little he cunningly insinuated to *Tiberius*, The great and numerous Inconveniencies of the City, the slavish Attendance and Trouble belonging to the Senate, and the disturb'd and seditious Temper of the Inferior sort; highly extolling a quiet and solitary Retirement, a Life without Anguish of Mind, free from Envy and Ill-Will, and more fit to think on important and weighty Matters. *Tiberius*, whether most prevail'd upon by his plausible Perswasions, or his own natural Inclinations to Ease and Debauchery, in the twelfth Year of his Reign left Rome, and went into *Campania*; but only with Pretence of Dedicating a Temple to *Jupiter* at *Capua*, and another to *Augustus* at *Nola*. After this, tho' he remov'd to several Places, he never return'd to the City in all his Reign; and from this time we hear not much of his Actions, besides a black Train of prodigious Cruelties, abominable Practices, and detestable Vices.

Tiberius's Retirement.

III. The same Year that *Tiberius* departed from Rome, he sent *Pontius Pilate* into the East, to be Governor of *Judæa*, who at his first Arrival, set up the Images of *Tiberius* at *Jerusalem*; but after many Petitions and Dangers of Insurrections, he remov'd 'em to *Cæsarea*. The following Year *Tiberius* having Dedicated his Temples in *Campania*, he

A. D.
27.

he publish'd an Edict forbidding all Persons to disturb his Repose, and stopp'd the Concourse of Citizens by placing Soldiers in the Ways; yet still growing weary of Towns and Colonies, and all Places on the Continent, he withdrew himself into a very pleasant Island call'd *Capreae*, over-against *Naples*, and three Miles from the Continent, where he wholly abandon'd himself to all imaginable Scandal and Wickedness. He was never more Suspicious and Credulous than at present, Qualities which *Sejanus* always endeavour'd to excite; and now secret Spies and Informers were employ'd in all Parts of the City, which caus'd numerous Disturbances and Cruelties, and the Deaths of many Worthy Persons. If a Person of considerable Merit testify'd any Concern for the Glory of the Empire, *Tiberius* immediately suspected it was only a secret Design of gaining it. If any other had an innocent remembrance of Liberty, he was look'd upon as a dangerous Person, and one who aim'd at the re-establishing the Common-wealth. To praise *Brutus* and *Cassius* was a Capital Crime; to bewail *Augustus*, a secret Offence; and so much the more dangerous, because *Tiberius* had always commended him in Publick, and caus'd Divine Honours to be decreed him. And every Action became liable to forc'd Interpretations; simplicity of Discourse, they said, express'd evil Designs; a discreet Silence conceal'd mischievous Intentions; Joy was the Hopes of the Prince's Death; Melancholy an Envy of his Prosperity; and Fear the just apprehensions of a guilty Conscience: So that to speak, to be silent, to be glad, to be griev'd, to be fearful or assur'd, were all Crimes, and very often incurr'd the extreamest Punishments. Many of these things were likewise promoted by the pernicious Practices

ctices and Contrivances of *Sejanus*, who more principally employ'd his Designs against *Nero* and *Drusus*, the two Sons of *Germanicus*, whom *Tiberius*, after the Death of his Son *Drusus*, had recommended to the Senate. *Sejanus* never desisted from prosecuting 'em all manner of Ways, till he had unjustly caus'd 'em to be declar'd Enemies to the State; after which he found means to starve 'em to Death, barbarously using their Mother *Agrippina*, who had been free in upbraiding and reprehending him for his impious Actions. About the same time dy'd the Emperor's Mother *Livia*, in the 86th. Year of her Age; a Woman of wonderful Policy, said to have had all the Skill and Subtilty of her Husband, and all the Artifice and Dissimulation of her Son; one who had been an insupportable Step-Mother to the State, and had labour'd under the Scandal of many great and eminent Pieces of Treachery: For which she was in some measure punish'd by her Son's great Contempt of her for a considerable time before her Death; his refusing to bury her, and suffering her Body to putrify; his rejecting the Honours decreed her, and vacating her Will; and by his prosecuting and punishing her Friends with the utmost Severity.

*The Death of
Livia.*

The same Year that *Livia* dy'd, which was the 15th. of *Tiberius*'s Reign, and the third of his Retirement. *Jesus Christ*, our blessed Saviour, in *Judaea*, enter'd upon his Ministerial Function, and began to preach the Gospel in that Country to the *Jews*. And after three Years teaching most perfect and saving Doctrines, and after a glorious Train of many Miracles and Acts of Mercy, he shew'd a more unexpressible Instance of his Love to lost Mankind, and infinitely surpassing all Humane Conceptions, and Mortal Imagina-

A. D.

30.

Christ Crucify'd.

A. D.

33.

ginations: And this was his voluntary Death and Sacrifice for the Sins of the World, which was brought about by the false and malicious Accusations of the *Jews*, and the Ignorance and Suspitions of *Pilate*, who commanded him to be Crucify'd, lest he shou'd be accus'd to *Tiberius* of protecting a Seditious Person who aim'd at the Crown of *Judæa*. His Death was accompany'd with terrible Earthquakes and dreadful Prodigies, the Sun it self being darken'd for three Hours, as is acknowledg'd even by Heathen Writers: And what appear'd no less wonderful to Men, was his raising himself from the Dead, within three Days after his Crucifixion, and his ascending into Heaven from whence he came. Shortly after which, *Pilate* wrote to *Tiberius* an Account of his Passion and Resurrection, with the Miracles perform'd by him, and others in his Name, and, *That the Multitude of his Followers daily increasing, he was accounted a God*. Whereupon *Tiberius* made Report of the whole Matter to the Senate, and further with this favourable Suffrage, *That CHRIST might be accounted a God by the Romans*. But the Senate being displeas'd, that they had not first mov'd it, and alledging an ancient Law which gave to them in particular the Superintendence in all Matters of Religion, refus'd to Canonize him; and by an Edict commanded that all *Christians* shou'd be banish'd the City. But *Tiberius* by another Edict threaten'd Death to the Accusers of *Christians*; and in all his Reign he wou'd not permit, or at least not promote any Persecution of the *Christians*, tho' they were considerably numerous before his Death.

Tho' *Tiberius* was thus favourable to the *Christians*, yet he liv'd at present neither like a true *Christian*, nor like a Rational Man, still more and more

more abounding in his Merciless Cruelties, and his abominable Lusts. His Inclinations to the former were first discover'd in his Infancy by his Master in Rhetorick, who wou'd oftentimes by way of Reprehension call him, *A Mass of Clay temper'd with Blood*. He now condemn'd many of the principal and noblest Men in *Rome*, and Confiscated their Estates, for very light Causes, and most of 'em forg'd. Besides these Innocent Persons fell his great Minister of State *Sejanus*, whose Death was most Just, and whose secret Practices against *Tiberius's* Life, and whose deep Designs upon the Empire, began more manifestly to appear than ever. *Sejanus* was very near dispatching him, when the Emperor, as by a Miracle, return'd from his fatal Blindness, preserv'd his unhappy Days, and destroy'd this great Confident, who wou'd have ruin'd him. *Tiberius* proceeded with all imaginable Care and Caution in this Matter; and when *Sejanus* was secur'd, a Thousand Indignities were offer'd him, after which he was Strangled by the Hand of the Common-Hangman, his Body was ignominiously dragg'd about the Streets, and his whole Family Executed with him; a Punishment scarce proportionable to the Number and Heinousness of his Crimes. Shortly after him follow'd *Piso's* Wife *Plancina*, who met with an unjust Accusation and Condemnation, tho' a most just Punishment for her former Practices against *Germanicus*, and fell almost as unpity'd as the other. Great numbers of others dy'd with small appearance of Justice, which very often proceeded from the insatiable Avarice as well as exorbitant Cruelty of this Prince; for he now augmented his Subsidies and Tributes in such a measure, that the Provinces became desolate and miserable, and Confiscated the Estates of several

*Sejanus's
Execution.*

veral Princes of *Gaul, Spain, Syria, Greece*, and other Parts upon the most slight and inconsiderable Informations. His unbounded Cruelties reduc'd the Nobility of *Rome* to a dangerous State, and made himself become odious to those who before had swell'd him with their extravagant Flatteries; for now he acted openly, and treated his Subjects as Enemies, because he had first afforded 'em an occasion of being so. No Person, tho' never so Vertuous and Cautious, cou'd be safe; for it was not enough for 'em to be free from the Corruptions of Accusers, the false Reports of Spies, and the Suppositions of Infamous Informers; but they also stood in fear of the very Imagination of the Emperor; and when they justly thought themselves secure by the Innocence, not only of their Actions, but their Thoughts also, they were often ruin'd by the Malice of his Conjectures.

Thus miserable were the *Romans* under the Arbitrary Government of an outrageous Tyrant; and the more, because he made no Distinction of Persons in his Cruelties: For of the twenty Noblemen he chose for his Council, he put sixteen to Death; and with the same Severities prosecuted his Allies and own Kindred; impiously saying, *That Priamus was a happy Man in out-living his whole Race and Posterity.* His usual saying to such as alledg'd the Hatred of his Subjects to him was, *Let 'em hate, as long as they submit*; and there was not a Day without some barbarous Execution, for which he strictly forbid the Relations of the Condemn'd to Mourn, or to make any sort of Lamentations. And what still made his Executions more terrible and detestable, was his ordering the Condemn'd Persons to suffer many shameful Indignities and exquisite Torments before they dy'd, which several prevented by Poysons and

Dag-

Daggers. He generally executed his Fury with such extream severity, that he esteem'd it a Favour, and an Act of Mercy, to put Persons to an ordinary Death ; so that when a particular Person, call'd *Carnulius*, had kill'd himself to prevent other Torments, he cry'd out, *Ab, how has Carnulius escap'd me ?* And to another Prisoner, who earnestly begg'd, That he wou'd not deferr his Death, he said, *He was not yet so much his Friend as to hasten it.* Sometimes he was more Merry in his Cruelties, particularly when a certain Buffoon had stopp'd a Hearse, and desir'd the Dead Body to tell *Augustus*, That his Legacies given to the People were yet unpaid ; *Tiberius* sent for him, and having paid him his Part, caus'd him to be immediately Executed, bidding him tell *Augustus*, That he was paid. Notwithstanding he being so continually harden'd in his Vices, he had so much sense of Remorse at particular Instants, that his Actions sometimes prov'd his own Scourge and Punishment ; particularly when he wrote to the Senate to spare a Favourite of his, he after some servile Entreaties told 'em, *That the Gods and Goddesse's had so assisted and confounded him, that he knew not how or what to write.* At particular Intervals he shew'd some Sparks and Relicts of his former Vertues and Ingenuity ; but these were always stifled, and his Cruelties encreas'd by his prodigious Gluttony and Drunkenness, and his more prodigious Lusts, which still more violently rag'd at a Time when Age and Nature design'd to correct and cure 'em. He filthily abus'd most of the eminent and illustrious Ladies of the City, and made 'em subservient to his Lust ; and his great Parts and Ingenuity now only serv'd for exquisite Inventions, and to make his Vices more extravagant and abominable. At his Retirement in the Isle

of *Caprea*, he invented Rooms on purpose for his libidinous Exercises, where he made use of all manner of Incentives, some of which were of that monstrous and detestable Nature, that they ought not to be mention'd or imagin'd.

For all this space *Tiberius* was shamefully negligent of his Armies and Governours of Provinces, and of the Security of his Dominions from Foreign Devastations. He suffer'd *Mæsia* to be seiz'd on by the *Dacians* and *Sarmatians*, *Gaul* to be wasted by the *Germans*, and himself to be insulted over by *Artabanus*, King of *Parthia*, who not only possess'd himself of *Armenia*, but also highly affronted him by Letters, accusing him of *Parricide*, *Murders*, *Laziness*, and *Luxury*, and bad him, with all possible speed satisfy his most just Hatred of his Subjects by a voluntary Death. These were Affronts which were never offer'd to a *Roman* unreveng'd; but they cou'd not move the overgrown Stupidity of this Emperor, who left his Provinces wholly to the Care of his standing Legions, and proceeding in his vile Enormities, often wished, *That Heaven and Earth might be destroy'd at his Death*. In the twenty second Year of his Reign his Strength began to forsake him; which occasion'd him to remove to several Places, settling at last in a Promontory of *Misenum*. Here he nam'd *Caius Caligula*, the only surviving Son of *Germanicus*, for his Successor, together with a young Grandson of his call'd *Tiberius*. It is probably conjectur'd, that he nam'd the former, expecting to have his Vices efface the Memory of his own Wickedness, and with Belief that he wou'd extinguish the *Roman* Nobility: For he had often said, *That in Caligula he had brought up a Serpent for the People of Rome, and a Phaeton for the rest of the World*. Which prov'd true, *Caligula* beginning

ning first with *Tiberius* himself, whom he smother'd with a Pillow, or else Poyson'd him, as some Authors report, being now 78 Years of Age. Authors differ about the manner of his Death, and some seem to excuse *Caligula* of the Fact, tho' he publicly confess'd, that he design'd his Death; *to revenge the Murder of his several Relations.*

*The Death of
Tiberius.*

This was the deserved End of *Tiberius Nero*, the third Emperor of *Rome*; and tho' he had highly oblig'd the City by a large Contribution towards the Damages of a Fire in the preceding Year, yet the News of his Death was receiv'd at *Rome* with all the imaginable Demonstrations of Joy; some running about in great numbers, and crying, *Throw Tiberius into the Tiber!* others beseeching their Mother *Earth*, and the Infernal Gods, *to vouchsafe him no Place but among impious and detestable Wretches*; and others threatening to drag his vile Carcass into the *Gemonie*, the Place for common Malefactors. All these Indignities, together with his unnatural Death, was but a just Vengeance from Heaven to a Person whom it had endu'd with the greatest Wit and Ingenuity, and who had wickedly employ'd it to the satisfying his Lusts and Ambition, the enslaving of his Country, the destroying of his Subjects, and the corrupting and weakning the most glorious Empire in the World by his pernicious Maxims. To give his Character, in short: As *Augustus* may justly be said to have been the wisest and greatest Monarch, and the most skillful Politician in the World; so *Tiberius* may truly be said to have been the most subtle and swelling Tyrant, and the most exquisite State-Jugler that *Rome* ever saw. He corrupted all that was good, and introduc'd all that was bad in the Empire:

And what prov'd a far greater Misfortune to the State, was its having his false Politicks embrac'd by the greatest part of his Successors, several of which were greater Monsters, and far more ignorant than himself, who plac'd the Honour and Glory of their Reigns not in governing the Empire best, but in enslaving it most; Methods that generally prove as Fatal to Princes, as Destructive to Subjects. *Tiberius* dy'd in the 79th Year of the City, 63 Years after the perfect Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 38 Years after our Saviour's Nativity, and five after his Crucifixion.

CHAP. III.

From the Death of Tiberius, to the Death of Nero, the Sixth Emperor; which ended the Julian Family, and first broke the Succession of the Empire.

Containing the Space of about 30 Years.

A. D. 38.

THE Death of *Tiberius* prov'd a double Satisfaction to the Senate and People of *Rome*, both for its freeing them from a Merciless Tyrant, and for its making Way for so hopeful a Successor as *Caius Caligula*; who was highly belov'd and respected, upon the Account of the extraordinary Merits of his Father *Germanicus*, and the great Injuries donel to Him and his Family. Therefore as he remov'd from *Misenum*, where *Tiberius* dy'd, infinite Numbers of the principal Men of *Rome*, went out to entertain Him upon the Way, with extraordinary Rejoycings and

Con-

Congratulations, notwithstanding he came mourning with the dead Body of *Tiberius*, which the Soldiers brought to be burnt at *Rome*, according to the Custom of that Time. At his Entrance into *Rome* with great Solemnity, he was receiv'd with new Names and Epithets of Honour, and the utmost Marks of real Affection; and the Senate being assembled, with the People thronging into the House, he was by universal Consent declar'd Emperor, with full Power, contrary to the express Will of *Tiberius*, who left him but Co-Heir with his Grandson *Tiberius*, then under-Age, and in his *Prætexta*. The Joy for this new Emperor, was not confin'd to the narrow Bounds of *Rome* and *Italy*, but dilated it self through all the Empire; So that the Space of three Months, by Computation above 160000 Cattel were Sacrific'd upon that Occasion. Shortly after his Election, upon his Passage into the Isle of *Campania*, not far distant from the City, the People made Vows for his Return, not omitting the least Opportunity of expressing their exceeding Care for his Safety; and when afterwards he fell Sick, the People throng'd whole Nights about his Palace, some offering themselves to Combate for his Safety, and others devoting themselves to Death at his Recovery, and set up Bills of their Resolutions in the Streets. To this infinite Affection of the Citizens, was added the no less Favour and Respect of Strangers; for *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, who had express'd nothing but Hatred and Contempt to *Tiberius*, sought his Alliance himself; and coming to a personal Conference with one of his *Legates* who had been Consul, he pass'd the *Euphrates*, adored the Eagles and other Ensigns of the Empire, and kiss'd the Images of this new Emperor. So that *Caligula* wanted no

*Caligula
made Empe-
ror.*

Advantage nor Opportunity of making himself the greatest Prince in the World, since he had so much the Love of his own Subjects, and the Respect of all Foreigners.

Caius was not much above 25 Years of Age, when he arriv'd at the Empire; and was surnam'd *Caligula*, from his wearing the Habit of ordinary Soldiers in his Youth. He was of a fierce and cruel Temper, and no less remarkable for his extream Subtilty and Dissimulation: The former Disposition he is suppos'd to have suck'd in with the Milk of his Nurse, who usually anointed her Breasts with Blood; and to have learnt the latter from the Familiarity and Conversation of his Master *Tiberius*. His Enormities were all conceal'd in the Beginning of his Reign; but soon after, as several of his Actions gave some Indications of an irregular Head and a distracted Brain, so we are told that his Wife *Cæsonia* gave him a Drink which a little distorted his Reason and Understanding; tho' she did it with a Design of making him love her, and to prevent his devouring Her, as he had some others before her. After which, Authors report, that he never slept but three Hours in twenty four, sometimes rising in a great Fright, as tho' he had seen Apparitions and Visions; notwithstanding he always retain'd an extraordinary ready Wit and Apprehension, and an admirable Faculty and Fluency in Speaking. In the Beginning he was very busie and careful of the Publick; and having perform'd the funeral Solemnities of *Tiberius*, he hastned to the Island *Panilaturia* and *Pontia*, to remove the Ashes of his Mother and Brothers, exposing himself to the Danger of Tempestuous Weather, that his Piety might be the more remarkable. Having gather'd them together, and put them with much

Reve-

Reverence into their Urns, with no less Pomp and Formality, he carry'd them to *Ostia*, setting up his Standard in the Stern of his Galley; and from thence along the *Tiber* to *Rome*, where they were convey'd by the most illustrious of the *Equestrian* Order, into a famous *Mausolæum*. Besides which, he ordain'd publick Services and Devotions to be annually observ'd in their Commemoration; instituted Solemn Games for his Mother in the *Circus*, and in Honour of his renowned Father call'd the Month *September*, by the Name of *Germanicus*. These Ceremonies being over, by an Act of the Senate, he conferr'd upon his Grandmother *Antonia*, all the same Honour that *Livia Augusta* had formerly; and that there might be no room left for Apprehensions in the Informers, against his Mother and Brothers, he caus'd all the Registers and Records relating to those Matters, to be brought publickly into the *Forum*, and there to be burnt in his Presence; first calling the Gods to Witness, *That he never read them*. And the Kindness which he had hitherto shewn them, was the reason he refus'd a Note that was offer'd him, tending to the Discovery of a Conspiracy against him, alledging, *That he was not Conscious of any Action that might deserve the Hatred of any Man; therefore he had no Ears for Informers*.

The Beginning of this Emperor's Reign, was all Clemency and Regularity; and pretending to govern with Justice and Moderation, he caus'd the famous Models and Institutions of *Augustus* to be publish'd and revived, which had been neglected and disus'd by *Tiberius*; giving likewise a free Jurisdiction to the Magistrates, without reserving any Appeal to himself. He likewise began to regulate and reform many Abuses in the

The Death of
P. Pilate.

State, and severely punish'd corrupt Governours ; among which he banish'd *Pontius Pilate* to *Vienne* in *Gaul*, where he afterwards kill'd himself with his own Hands, and so became the Revenger of his Wickedness upon himself, as the Betrayer of our Saviour had done before. He took a strict View of all the *Equites*, taking away their Rings and Horses in a most publick manner, when he found them guilty of any infamous Crime ; and banish'd without Remission the *Spintria* or Inventers of abominable Recreations from *Rome*. He remitted several Impositions invented by *Tiberius*, and was so popular, that *Suetonius* tells us, that he endeavour'd to restore the ancient Manner of Elections of Magistrates, by the Suffrages of the People. Though the Will and Testament of *Tiberius* was declared Null by the Senate, and that of *Livia Augusta* suppress'd by *Tiberius*, yet he caus'd all their Legacies to be punctually paid, without either Clamour on one side, or Fraud on the other ; and to make Young *Tiberius* some Amends for his missing the Crown, he made him *Princeps Juventutis*. He made Good the Losses which several had sustain'd by Fire ; and when he restored some Princes to their Kingdoms who had been unjustly dispossessed by *Tiberius*, he gave them likewise all the Arrears of their Revenues, particularly to *Antiochus* King of *Comagena*, to whom he return'd almost a Million of our Money. And that he might appear an Incourager of great and good Examples, he gave to a Libertine Woman 80000 Sesterces, for enduring the most exquisite Torments, without discovering the Secrets of her Patron. For these worthy Actions, among other Honours done to him, a Shield of Gold bearing his Image, was decreed to be carry'd annually on a set Day by the Colledge of Priests

Priests into the Capitol, being follow'd by all the Senate in Order, with the Children of the Nobility singing in Praise of the Emperor's Vertues; and besides it was ordain'd, That the Day in which he was ordain'd to the Empire, should be call'd *Pubitia*, implying a new Foundation of the City.

Thus happily did *Caligula* Reign for above eight Months, in which Space he had all the Appearance of a good Prince, and a Patron of Vertue; but all his Moderation and Clemency vanish in a short Time, and giving a full Loose to his furious Passions, he soon degenerated into a Tyrant and a Monster of Men; So that it was truly said of him, *There never was a better Servant, and a worse Master than He.* And for the rest of his Reign, the Reader is to expect nothing but an uninterrupted Train of execrable Vices, monstrous Extravagancies, and such ridiculous Inconsistencies, as cannot be well related with that Gravity and Decency necessary to an *Historian*, nor with that Order and Method which I wou'd willingly observe. His Pride and Vanity began first to display themselves, and he was the first Emperor that caus'd himself to be call'd *Lord*, looking upon all Mankind as his Servants and Vassals. When certain Kings, who came to pay him Homage, had some Contest about Place and Superiority in Respect of their Crowns, he interrupted their Dispute by repeating a Verse in *Homer* in the Person of *Ulysses*, which says, *Let there be but one Lord and King below*: And had then taken upon him the Crown and Diadem of a King, which was most odious to the *Romans*, but was told, *That he was already above all the Kings and Monarchs in the World.* From that time he took upon him the Titles of *Father of Armies*, *Optimus* and *Maximus*,
with

with other Epithets of Honour, which the *Romans* gave only to their great God *Jupiter*; and seeing Shepherds and Herds-Men were in a Degree far above their Beasts and Cattle, so he judg'd that the Lord of Mankind was not to be rank'd in the Degree of Men, but of the Gods; whereupon he impiously assum'd divine Honours. He caus'd the Heads of the Statue of *Jupiter*, and of some other Gods to be taken off, and others resembling his own to be put in their Places; and in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, he often plac'd himself between the Images of those Brothers, to be ador'd of all that came thither, some being so prophane, as to Salute him by the Name of *Jupiter Latialis*. But being possess'd with the Spirit of Inconstancy, he chang'd his God-ship, as often as he chang'd his Clothes, being one time a Male Deity, and at another a Female: Sometimes he was *Jupiter*, other times *Juno*, sometimes *Mars*, other times *Venus*, Sometimes *Neptune* and *Apollo*, and other times *Diana*. At length his prodigious Pride and Impiety carry'd him so far, as to build and dedicate a Temple to his own Divinity, in which Temple he had his own Image in Gold, done to the Life, and every Day cloath'd in the same Robes that he himself wore. He likewise instituted a set of Priests to officiate in his Temple, who daily Sacrific'd Peacocks, Pheasants, *Numidian* Hens, and the most rare and delicate Fowls that cou'd be procur'd; and generally the richest Men of the City, either by Money or Favour, purchas'd the Dignity of this Priesthood, according as Vacancies fell. And as tho' his other Follies were not sufficiently extravagant, he became Priest to himself, and admitted his Wife and his Horse to be Fellow-Priests with him; and because he would be a real *Jupiter*, he had

Inven-

Inventions to imitate Thunder and Lightning, frequently defying *Jupiter* in *Homer's* Speech, *Do you take me from hence, or I'll take you.* As he accounted himself a God, he sometimes went out in a full Moon, and courted and made Love to her, as if she had been a fair Lady, inviting her to his Bed, *To tast of the Pleasure of his Embraces.* He often went to the Temple of *Jupiter*, and joyning himself to the Image, whisper'd to it; then laid his Ear to that for the receiving an Answer, sometimes seeming very angry, and threatening, *To send it packing to Greece;* and afterwards to be pacifi'd, being contented, *That they two shou'd dwell friendly together:* And in this Manner he proceeded to a thousand monstrous Absurdities, as well as abominable Impieties.

On the other Side, this Prince who presum'd to displace the immortal Gods, and to make himself one, cou'd not avoid envying and grieving at the Honours and Felicities of Mortal Men. He batter'd and defac'd the Images and Statues of many illustrious Persons; and so much hated the Memory of his Grand-Father *Agrippa*, that rather than be thought of his Extraction, he publish'd, *That his Mother was conceiv'd by the Incest between Augustus and his Daughter Julia:* And being not satisfi'd with this unjust Aspersions upon *Augustus*, he forbid the Celebration of the Festivals, instituted in Commemoration of his Victories in *Sicily*, and at *Actium*, condemning them as pernicious to the Common-Wealth. He us'd all Endeavours to bring the Poem of *Virgil*, and the History of *Livy* into Disgrace; the former he said *had no Wit*, the latter was *Verbose and Negligent*, ordering his Statues to be remov'd from the Libraries in *Rome*; and he said, *Seneca was all Sand without Lime*, censuring in like Manner the Sublimest

Sublimeſt Wits in Rome. Beſides which he took from many *Patricians* and Noble-Men of the City, the ancient Arms and Ornaments of their Families; as from *Torquatus* the Chain, from *Cincinnatus* the Lock of Hair, and from *Cn. Pompeius* of very ancient Extraction, the Title of *Great Ptolemy*; the latter of which being call'd from his Government, and receiv'd with great Honour, was inhumanely ſlain, only becauſe the Luſtre of his purple Gown, had drawn the Eyes of the Spectators in the Theatre upon him, when the Emperor was preſent himſelf. His Envy yet deſcended to meaner Matters; ſo that there was no Man of ſo low and abject a Condition, whom he envy'd not, if any natural Bleſſing or Qualification diſtinguiſh'd him from others, even to the cauſing ſeveral in the City to be ſhav'd, for having Hair more beautiful than ordinary. For the like Reaſon he barbarouſly treated *Eſſus Proculus*, a worthy Gentleman, who was ſo extraordinary beautiful, and ſo remarkable in the City for his great Comelineſs and Tallneſs of Stature, that he was uſually call'd *Coloſſeros*, or the lovely *Coloſſus*. This Perſon being obſerv'd by *Caligula*, as he ſat viewing of the bloody Spectacles in the Amphitheatre, out of pure Envy he cauſ'd him to be drag'd down from the Seats above, to the Combitants, and there to fight for his Life. When after a brave Tryal with two ſeveral Men, he came off Victorious, this Tyrant immediately cauſ'd him to be bound, and cloath'd in Tatters and Rags, to be led about the City, ſhewn to the Women, and then Slain. Being at a publick Game, where a particular Gladiator had Succeeded with more than ordinary Applauſe, he was ſo highly diſpleas'd, that he flung himſelf out of the Amphitheatre in a Fury, and ſtumbling upon

on the Seats, he cry'd out with great Indignation, *That the People of Rome, Lords of all Nations, gave more Honour to a pitiful Fencer, than to consecrated Princes; nay than to himself, then present before them.*

Caligula was no less notorious for his Lusts and Brutality, than for his Pride and Envy; and in those he equall'd, if not exceeded his Predecessor *Tiberius*, scarce making any Distinction of Persons or Places. Besides his unnatural Lusts, there was scarce any Lady of extraordinary Quality that escap'd his Leudness, which was usually attended with the most impudent Circumstances imaginable. He committed Incest with all his three Sisters, and at publick Feasts they laid with their Heads in his Bosom by Turns: Of these he took *Drusilla* from her Husband *Longinus*, and kept her as his Wife; and prostituted *Livia* and *Agrippina* to his own vile Companions, then banish'd them as Adulteresses, and Conspirators against his Person. He lov'd the former so affectionately, that being Sick, he appointed her Heiress both of his Empire and Estate, and after her Death, he made her a Goddess, whom all his Life long he had made his Harlot. Such a Deity the *Romans* never knew before, but only her Brother; and she troubled them as much in her Heaven, as he did on the Earth: For it was impossible for any Man so to comport himself, as not to be embarrass'd by Means of this new Goddess. To mourn for her Death was a high Crime, because she was a Deity and Immortal; to rejoyce for her Deity was Capital, because she was dead; and to be Silent was an unpardonable Insensibility, either of the Emperor's Loss, or his Sisters Advancement. Thus he made his Sister subservient to his Profit, as before he did to his Pleasure,

sure, raising vast Sums by the Purchase of the Lives of some, and the Confiscation of the Goods of others. As to his Marriages, whether he contracted, continu'd or dissolv'd them with greater Shame and Dishonestly, it is not easie to determine. Being present at the Nuptials of *Livia Orestilla* with *Piso*, as soon as the Solemnity was over, he commanded her to be brought to him as his own Wife; Yet in a few Days he dismiss'd her, and after that banish'd Her, upon Suspicion she had been with her Husband after she was parted from him. He was also enamour'd of *Lollia Paulina*, upon a bare Relation of a Grand-Mothers great Beauty; and thereupon sent for from another Country, where her Husband *C. Memmius* was General of an Army, and forc'd her to become his Wife; but he not only divorc'd her shortly after, but likewise forbade her future Matching with any Man whatsoever. *Cæsonia* came next into his Affections, and there continu'd; a Mother of three Children, neither Young nor Beautiful, but so addicted to Luxury and Lasciviousness, that he now met with a proper Consort: And he lov'd her so intirely, that he sometimes shew'd her to the Soldiers all in Armour, and sometimes to his Friends stark Naked, transforming her by these Vicissitudes into two Extreams equally unbecoming her Sex, to a Man and to a Beast.

But not to dwell any longer in these Scenes of Impurity, *Caligula* was as boundless in his Prodigality, as he was extravagant in his Lusts; and yet at the same time insupportable in his Avarice. In Luxury and riotous Expences, he exceeded the Inventions of all the Prodigals of that Age; having contriv'd new Ways of Bathing, and found out most prodigious Dishes for his Entertainments.

He

He us'd Baths of the richest Oyls, and most precious Perfumes in the World ; and had Banquets with the most valuable Pearls and Jewels dissolv'd and put among his Meat, and sometimes had Services of pure Gold to be given to his Guests in stead of Meat, affirming, *That a Man was either to be a good Husband or an Emperor.* Besides which, for several Days together, from the Top of *Julia's* Tower, he cast down considerable Sums of Money among the People. He commanded certain Ships to be built of prodigious Bulk, the Timber being Cedar, the Sterns Ivory beset with Gold and Jewels, the Sails and Tackling of various Silks, the Cabins and Galleries spacious and convenient, with great variety of Vines and Apple-trees, under the Shade of which he often din'd amongst Voices and other Musick, sometimes coasting along the Shore of *Campania* with great Pomp and Splendor. In all his Buildings both of Palaces and Houses of Pleasure, he consider'd nothing but his own particular Fancy, and continually design'd such Works as to others seem'd impossible. He order'd large Pillars and Towers to be built in the Bottom of the Sea, cut his Way through Rocks of impenetrable Flint, levell'd Mountains, and elevated Plains and Valleys, presuming to alter and correct the greatest Works of Nature ; and all with incredible Expedition, punishing the least Laziness or Delay in the Workmen with present Death. By his various Kinds of Extravagancies, in less than a Years space, besides all his ordinary Revenues, he consum'd about Eighteen Millions of our Money, which *Tiberius* had scrap'd together before his Death : Which shews, That tho' there is Treasure in the World sufficient to maintain and support all its infinite Numbers of Inhabitants, yet there is not enough
in

in the whole World to maintain one prodigal Tyrant.

*A wonderful
Bridge.*

But the most notorious Instance of his Prodigality and Vanity, was his vast Work at *Puteoli*, which he undertook in the Third Year of his Reign; and it is difficult to determine which was greater, the Folly or the Extravagancy of the Attempt. To shew his Power and Greatness, and that he was able to walk upon the Sea as well as the Land, he order'd an infinite Number of Ships to be secur'd in all Parts, and many others to be new built, and all to be brought into the Bays of *Baia* and *Puteoli* in *Campania*, about Ninety Miles from *Rome*. With these he order'd a wonderful Bridge to be built, from the Point of *Baia* to the opposite Shore at *Puteoli*, above Three Miles and a half in length; the Ships being plac'd in two Rows in Form of a Crescent, fastned and moor'd together with Anchors, Chains, and Cables, to make them firm and secure. Over these were laid vast Quantities of large Planks and Boards, very strong and even, and cover'd over with so much Earth, as it seem'd to have been firm Ground, and one of the Streets in *Rome*. Then to make this stupendious Work the more magnificent and surprising, he sent for innumerable Numbers of Artificers and Labourers, and with infinite Charge and Expedition built Houses and Lodgings upon the Bridge for the Reception of Himself and Followers, into which was brought fresh Water in Pipes from the Land, to serve the Occasions of his Revels. All this being compleated, He and all his Court repaired thither with prodigious Throngs of all sorts of People, who came from all Parts to behold this mighty Pomp; where after some solemn Sacrifices to the Gods, *Caligula* proudly adorn'd with magnificent Robes of Gold and

and Pearl, sitting on Horse-back with a *Cirvick* Crown and *Alexander's* Breast-plate, accompany'd with the Great Officers of his Army, and all the Nobility and Gentry of *Rome*, he enter'd at one End of the Bridge, and with an awful Majesty rode to the other. And lodging all Night upon his Bridge, he caus'd such an infinite Number of Torches, Lanthorns, and other Lights to be plac'd in all Parts of the Work, that all the neighbouring Mountains were illuminated, and what was his Horse-Way by Day, was his Amphitheatre by Night; *Caligula* boasting at the same time, *That he had turn'd the Night into Day, as well as the Sea into Land.* The next Day he rode over in his Triumphal Chariot, follow'd by a mighty Train of Friends in their Chariots, all his Soldiers in bright Armour, and *Darius* an Hostage of *Parthia* attending his Chariot. And after this great Exploit of Walking and Riding so many Miles upon the Sea, he ascended a *Rostrum* erected on purpose, where he made a most solemn Oration in Praise of his own vast Attempt, and of the Pains and Care of his Soldiers and Workmen, distributing large Rewards among them. Then, that he might perform some memorable Action before he left his Bridge, he suddenly caus'd great Numbers of the Multitude to be cast into the Sea, and when they laid hold of Rudders, or any Thing that might save their Lives, he commanded them to be thrust off, so that all perish'd without Remedy. He spent two Days in this Place in all manner of Feastings and Extravagancies, in which time the Sea proving smooth and calm, he said, *That Neptune took care of that, out of Fear and Reverence to Him;* after which he return'd to *Rome* in a most magnificent and triumphant Manner, for having surmounted, as he thought, the very Order of

H Nature.

Nature. Which shews how foolish that Man is, who has let loose the Reins of Reason, and how boundless that Folly is, which is supported by Arbitrary Power.

Caligula having by this and many other Extravagancies drain'd and exhausted his Exchequer, he betook himself to all Manner of Rapines and Extortions, inventing all Kinds of Penalties, Confiscations, and Imposts: And in these Matters there was no sort of Fraud or Dissimulation which he scrupled to use; often upbraiding all Persons with their Covetousness, and *that they were not ashamed to have more Riches than he*. He usd strange Exactions and Impositions, suffering nothing to pass in common Use without bringing Money into his Treasury; set a Rate upon all Meat, a Rate upon Processes in Law, a Rate upon Porters Wages, and a Rate upon Prostitutes Gains. He caus'd Free-men to purchase their Freedom a second Time; and poyson'd many who had nam'd Him for their Heir, to have an immediate Possession of their Estates; selling likewise the Jewels and Goods of his condemn'd Sisters, the Royal Robes and Ornaments of *Anthony, Augustus, Julia, Antonia*, and others of the Imperial Blood. And besides the strange Profits arising from his dead Sister *Drusilla*, that he might not be unexperienc'd in the basest and most scandalous Impositions, he set up a Brothel-House in his own Palace, throughly furnish'd with all Kinds of Prostitutes, Bawds, and Panders, for an Improvement of his Revenues. And likewise he made his Palace a common Gaming-House, and himself the Master-Gamster, not scrupling Cogging, Cheating, Lying, Forswearing, and any Kind of Artifice to enhance his Gains. Having once in the midst of his Game espy'd two rich Knights

Knights passing through his Court, he suddenly went down, caus'd both to be apprehended, and their Estates to be confiscated; and returning to his Game, boasted, *That he never had a better Throw in his Life.* Another time, wanting Money for his Stake, he went down and caus'd several Noble-men to be slain; then returning, told the Company, *That they sit playing there for a few Pence, while he had won 600000 Sesterces.* Having a Daughter born about that time, he complain'd publicly of his Poverty, not only as an Emperor, but as a Father; and therefore publish'd an Edict, That he wou'd receive New-years Gifts shortly, and accordingly he stood himself in the Porch of his Palace, to receive the Presents which the People with full Hands and Laps pour'd out before Him. And having by all possible Methods amass'd together an infinite Sum, he often laid down and rowl'd himself upon it, esteeming it the greatest Recreation in the World. As his Prodigality and Avarice were both prodigious, so he had the greatest Variety of Affections that cou'd be imagin'd: Sometimes he was openly familiar, other times as severely reserv'd: Sometimes he openly defied all the Gods, yet the Noise of a Thunder-clap caus'd him to hide himself under his Bed: Sometimes he dispatch'd Business with incredible Celerity and Expedition, and other times with as much Slowness and Negligence. He excus'd many that had committed hainous Crimes, and executed others who had committed no Offence; and wou'd one Day praise a Thing, and in the next condemn Him who commended it. Finally, he was so strangely variable, that no Man cou'd know how to act or serve him with Safety; and he was also the same in his Habit and Apparel, in his Exercises and Recreations, and in all his other Actions: Only, H 2 In

In his Severities and Cruelties he was ever constant and implacable, and had no Respect to Family or Friendship, using his Grand-mother *Antonia* so barbarously as she poyson'd her self, murdering his Coheir *Tiberius* for using a sweet Powder, and almost all his Kindred, except his Uncle *Claudius*, whom he preserv'd only for a Laughing-stock. He caus'd *Ptolomy*, Son of King *Juba*, *Macro*, and *Ennia*, and several others who were in League and Alliance with him, to be barbarously Executed; and likewise *Sillanus*, who had been his Father-in-Law, for refusing to go to Sea with him when he was Indispos'd. He slew divers of the Senate, and afterwards cited them to appear as if they had been alive; at last pretending they dy'd by their own Hands; others of them were cruelly Scourg'd, and the Soldiers order'd to tread upon them as they lay, that they might have them at full Command. Being disturb'd at Midnight by the noise of such as got Places in the *Circus* for the following Day, he caus'd them to be driven out with Clubs; in which Tumult were slain above twenty *Roman* Knights, as many Ladies, and an innumerable Company of the common People. He condemn'd many Persons of the highest Quality to dig in the Mines, and to repair the High-ways, for not showing sufficient Respect to his Gifts and Publick Games. He likewise cast great numbers of old Infirm Men, and poor Decrepid House-keepers to the wild Beasts, to free the State from such unserviceable Persons; and caus'd all the Publick Granaries to be shut up, that such as escap'd the wild Beasts, might perish with Famine. He order'd Wild-Beasts, which he kept for Feasts and Publick Games, to be fed with the Bodies of living Men; and to that end, every tenth Day he

he sign'd Warrants for the Executions of what Prisoners he thought fit, which he call'd, *Clearing his Accounts*. A certain Knight whom he had cast to the wild Beasts, crying out, *He was Innocent*, he caus'd him to be taken up, and his Tongue to be cut out of his Head, and then to be thrown in again. He forc'd Parents and Relations to be present at the Executions of their Kindred, compelling them to discourse of pleasant Matters; and to one who excus'd himself by Reason of his Sickness, he sent his own Litter to carry him. Demanding of one whom he had recall'd from a former Banishment, *How he employ'd himself in his Exile?* upon his answering, *That he often pray'd for the Death of Tiberius, that he might be Emperor*, he immediately concluded, that all whom he had Banish'd likewise, pray'd for his Death, therefore commanded, that all that cou'd be found shou'd be slain without Mercy. He took such an exceeding Delight in Cruelty and Blood, that he often had Men rack'd and tortur'd in his Presence as he sat at Meat, mingling his Sauce, as it it were, with Innocents Blood; and when the poor Wretches were miserably torn and mangled, he added another Cruelty of spitefully pitying and condoling their Misfortunes, blaming only their Tormentors.

As this Tyrant was barbarous in his Actions, so he was no less cruel in his Words and Sayings; for he often declar'd, *That he esteem'd nothing in his Nature so commendable as his Adiatrepsian, or his Unrelenting Temper at the sight of Executions*. Being blam'd by his Grandmother for his numerous Cruelties, he made Answer, *Remember I may do what I please, and to whom I please*. An Eminent Citizen, who for an Indisposition had got leave to retire into the Isle of *Anticyra*, desiring to have

his stay prolong'd, he was so far from obtaining his Petition, that *Caligula* commanded him to be slain, adding withal, *That Blood-letting must of necessity do him good, who had taken Hellebore so long without success.* He took delight to kill Men with slow and reiterated Strokes, that according to his usual Expression, *They might feel themselves die:* and once executing a wrong Person by Mistake, upon finding his Error, he said, *'Twas well done, he deserv'd it as much as the other.* In short, so unlimited and boundless was his Inhumanity, that he often made use of that impious Expression, *Oderint dum metuant, Let them hate, as long as they fear;* and to add to the natural Fierceness of his Countenance, he often view'd himself in his Glass to consider what Looks wou'd make him most terrible to his Subjects. Whenever he kiss'd his Wife or Mistress, he generally laid his Hand upon their Necks, using this Sentence, *As smooth and as lovely as it is, I can take it off when I please;* and he many times protested, *That he wou'd rack Cæsonia to discover what made him love her so passionately.* All his Sayings had the genuine Marks of Tyranny and unlimited Power; and particularly he declar'd, *That he wou'd so establish the State, that the Lawyers shou'd have nothing to plead but what he thought just and Equitable.* And that he might show himself a real Monster; as well as a true Tyrant, he us'd frequently to complain of the unhappiness of his Reign, *Because not afflicted with any considerable Calamity to make it remarkable;* lamenting, *That the Reign of Augustus was memorable for the Overthrow of Varus; That of Tiberius for the Fall of the great Amphitheatre at Fidenæ, but such was his unfortunate Prosperity, that he was in great Danger of being forgotten:* Insomuch that he many times wish'd for the Destruction of some of his

his Armies, | Famine, Pestilence, Fire, or some great Opening of the Earth, as wou'd swallow up a large Proportion of his Subjects.

The insupportable Cruelties and monstrous Disposition of this Emperor caus'd many to conspire against his Life ; but their Designs were for a while deferr'd, by reason of a famous Expedition he design'd against the *Germans* and *Britains*, which he undertook in the latter end of the third Year of his Reign. He caus'd vast numbers of Men to be rais'd in all Parts, made such mighty Preparations , us'd such great Expedition, and shew'd such uncommon Resolution, that many believ'd, that he wou'd over-run all *Germany* and *Britain* with no Difficulty. In his March he sometimes mov'd with such Fury and Hast, that the *Prætorian* Cohorts were constrain'd to dispose their Standards upon the Backs of their Sumpters to be brought after ; other times so slowly, and in such State, that causing himself to be carry'd upon eight Mens Shoulders, he sent before and commanded the neighbouring Cities to have their High-ways well swept and water'd to defend him from the Dust. Notwithstanding all his great Threats and Boastings he perform'd nothing in his Expedition but receiving *Adminius*, the Son of *Cynobelinus*, a King in *Britain*, who being banish'd by his Father, fled to him with a small Attendance. However, *Caligula* immediately sent magnificent Letters to *Rome*, as if he had conquer'd and possess'd himself of the whole Island ; strictly enjoinning the Messengers who carry'd his Letters, To ride directly through the great Forum into the Palace, and not to deliver them to the Consuls, but in the Temple of Mars, and in a full Senate. Not long after having no other Martial Employment, he commanded certain of the *German* Guards to cross the

Caligula's
Expedition.

A. D.

41.

Rhine, and hiding themselves for a while, to return in a great Tumult and Consternation with an Alarm, that the Enemy was at hand; which being exactly perform'd, he hasten'd with a few select Friends, and a small Party of Horse, into a neighbouring Wood; where causing his Men to adorn themselves with Branches of Trees for Trophies, he return'd by Torch-light with great Courage and Bravery, reproaching them with Laziness and Timidity, who omitted to follow him, and rewarding his Fellow Adventurers with new sorts of Crowns, and the honourable Names of *Exploratorii*. Soon after, that his Exploits might be numerous as well as Noble, he secretly order'd some Hostages to be forceably taken from their appointed Places; and being at Supper when the News was brought him, he shew'd so much Concern for their Escape, that he arose suddenly from the Table, mounted and pursu'd them with a great Party of Horse, as if they had been Fugitives; and having taken them, he brought them back in Chains, expressing himself in this Interlude no less vainly and extravagantly than in the former. At the same time he publish'd a severe Complaint against the Senate and People of *Rome*, shewing, *That while Cæsar was fighting abroad, and expos'd to infinite Hazards and Perils, they indulg'd themselves in their Riotous Feastings, and in all the Pleasures and Diversions in the Town*. Lastly, for a final Determination of this War, he march'd with his whole Army to the Sea-shore in *Batavia* or *Holland*, where disposing his Engines and Machines in great Order, and drawing up his Army in *Batavia*, he went on to the Sea in a Galley, and immediately returning, he commanded the Trumpets to sound, and the signal to be given for Battle, then of a sudden order'd all his Men to gather

ther Cockles and Muscles into their Helms, terming them, *The Spoils of the conquer'd Ocean, due to the Palace and Capitol*. Then calling his Army together, in such a manner as Generals usually did after a Victory, he made a pompous Oration to them, highly extolling their Renown'd Exploits and Atchievements, commanding also a ridiculous Distribution to be made amongst them, and bidding them *Rejoyce and be Rich*. In Memory of this great Victory, he caus'd a lofty Tower to be erected by the Sea-side; and order'd the Gallies, in which he had put out to Sea, to be convey'd to *Rome*, and for the most part by Land.

At his Return towards *Rome*, and entrance into *Gaul*, he sent Messengers before him to prepare a most solemn Triumph for his Conquests, carrying with him some few Prisoners, and *Barbarian* Fugitives for that purpose; and for the greater Pomp, he took with him the principal of the *Gothick* Nobility, compelling them to discolour their Faces and Hair, to learn the *German* Language, and to take upon them their barbarous Names. But before his departure from this Province, this Tyrant enter'd upon the most impious and bloody Design that was ever remember'd; which was to murder all those Legions which had formerly Mutin'd under his Father *Germanicus*, when he was a young Child in the Camp; and after all possible Perswasions against this notorious Barbarity, he cou'd not be diverted from a Resolution of killing every tenth Man; in which he persisted so obstinately, that he immediately call'd them together without their Arms, as to an Harangue, and caus'd them to be surrounded by a strong Body of Horse, in order to this abominable Design. But observing that his

his Intentions were suspected, and that many of them slipt away to recover their Arms, in case of any Violence, he suddenly fled out of the Assembly, and went immediately towards Rome, turning all thoughts against the Senate, and threatening to revenge on them the Ignominious Reports that were rais'd of him; complaining, amongst other things, *That by their Faults he was defrauded of his Triumph*; tho' he had lately forbid them, upon Pain of Death, to concern themselves with any of his Honours. Being met on the way by Ambassadors from that venerable Assembly, with their humble Request to him to come and partake of the Honours design'd for him, he laid his Hand upon his Sword, saying, *I will come, and bring this along with me*: And also by an Edict he declar'd, *That he wou'd return, but it shou'd be only to the Gentry and Commons; as to the Senate, he wou'd be neither a Prince nor Citizen for the future*; and forbid any of the Senators to meet him. In this manner, either quite omitting his Triumph, or deferring it to another Time, he contented himself to enter the City by way of Ovation, on his Birth-Day, without any further Ceremony. But about the same time the Senate found a remarkable occasion of Reconciliation, by means of *Protogenes*, one of his bloodiest Executioners; who coming into the House, was saluted and fawn'd upon by all the Senate, and more particularly by *Scribonius Proculus*. Whereupon *Protogenes*, with a fierce Countenance reply'd, *Why do you salute me, you that so hate my Master the Emperor*. Upon which Words the rest of the Senators immediately seiz'd upon *Proculus*, and violently tore him in Pieces; which piece of Service so well suited with the Tyrant's prodigious Humour, that he was pleas'd to declare,

clare, *That the Senate had now regain'd his Favour.*

Continuing in Rome, *Caligula* proceeded in his former Cruelties after a more barbarous manner than ever; and being incens'd with the Citizens, he us'd this execrable Wish, *O that the Roman People had but one Neck, that I might dispatch 'em all at a Blow!* And when the People petition'd him at the Theatre for an Easement of their Taxes, he commanded his Guards to set upon them, and put great numbers of them to the Sword. He design'd to remove his Court to *Antium*, and then to *Alexandria*, resolving first to destroy the Principal of the *Senatorian* and *Equestrian* Rank; as appear'd from two Books found in his Cabinet, one Intitl'd *Gladius* the Sword, and the other *Pugio* the Dagger; in which were written the Names of such as were mark'd out for Execution. So that now indeed he prov'd a real *Phaeton* to the World, according to the Predictions of that impious Politician *Tiberius*; but as he began to set all things on Fire, so he was soon scorch'd and consum'd in those Flames which he had so furiously blown up. When neither his own Reason, his Subjects Petitions, nor his Countries Customs cou'd move him to Moderation, or divert him from his Cruelties, many began to conspire against him, but durst not execute their Designs by reason of his Guards; till at length *Cassius Chæreas*, an Officer of his Guards resolv'd upon it, being prompted to it upon many Accounts. He secretly imparted his Designs to several *Senators*, *Equites*, and others, who readily joining with him, privately kept themselves in Arms, every Person promoting it with all possible Vigour and Resolution. *Chæreas* having appointed a set Time for this fatal Attempt, he order'd his Companions to attend him
in

*The Death of
Caligula.*

in a Vault, or private Gallery, where the Emperor usually pass'd unseen from his Palace to certain Baths not far distant. There *Chæreas* repair'd to his Associates, and shortly after meeting with *Caligula*, and first paying some Respect to him, he gave him a mortal Wound, crying out, *Tyrant, think upon this*; and immediately the rest of the Conspirators rush'd in, and dispatch'd him with thirty Wounds, he for some space crying out, *That he was still alive*. This was the miserable End of *Caius Caligula*, the fourth Emperor of Rome, in the 29th. Year of his Age, after a short Reign of three Years, ten Months, and eight Days; a Person commendable only for his sharp Wit and Eloquence, and so monstrously Wicked, that *Seneca* truly said of him, *That Nature seem'd to have brought him forth, to shew what was possible to be produc'd from the greatest Viciousness, supported by the greatest Authority*. His prodigious Enormities justly pull'd down Heaven's Vengeance upon the Head of him and his Family: For he himself not only fell by the Hands of his own Friends and Subjects, and had his Body left half burnt upon a poor Pile erected privately and in haste; but also his Wife *Cæsonia*, whom he lov'd to Madness, was at the same time stabb'd by a Centurion; and his only Daughter, an Infant in the Cradle, had her Brains dash'd out against a Wall, with Design to extirpate the whole Race of a Tyrant, who had made himself so insupportably odious to all Mankind. His Money was also melted down by Decree of Senate; that, if it were possible, both his Name and Feature might be forgotten by future Ages. He dy'd in the 79th. Year of the City, 42 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 9 after his Crucifixion: In whose short Reign, the Name and Faith of *Jesus Christ*

Christ was preach'd in a considerable Part of the World by the Holy Apostles and many others, *St. Matthew* writing his first Gospel, and the Believers of *Christ* obtaining the Name of *Christians*.

II. As soon as the Death of *Caligula* was publish'd in the City, it caus'd great Alteration and Confusion in all Parts. The Conspirators who providing for the Safety and not; Sovereignty, had all retir'd to private Places, tho' not without great Difficulty; and since the Act was done in such a secret Place, many imagining it some Artifice to discover the Affections of the People, suspended their Belief of it, till the German Guards had sufficiently manifest-ed it by the Disturbances they rais'd, and the Murders they committed in the Palace. The Senate was immediately assembl'd, where after a serious Debate, *Saturninus* the present Consul, insisted much upon the Benefits of Liberty, and the Miseries of Tyranny, particularly, *That the latter utterly extinguishes all Vertue, deprives Free-Men of all true Magnanimity, and teaches 'em both to flatter and fear; by which Means the Common-Wealth is not guided by the Wisdom of Laws, but abandon'd to the Fury of intemperate Governors; all which fatal Miseries, Rome had severely experienc'd.* After which he much pleaded for the rewarding of *Chæreas*, who, he said, had done so great a Piece of Service to the State, not like *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who murder'd *Julius Cæsar*; for they were the Originals of Seditions and Civil Wars: But *Chæreas* by the Death of a Tyrant, had not only deliver'd Rome from his Person, but likewise from all those Miseries which arose by his Means. The Senate being terrifi'd with the past Calamities, readily agreed with his Opinion, resolving to restore Rome to her ancient Liberty, and utterly to extinguish the Name of *Cæsar's*

A. D.

42.

far's and the Monarchy ; and persisting in this Determination, they immediately seiz'd on the *Capitol*, with some of the Cohorts of the City, who were likewise of their Opinion. But the City was much divided, the Commons urging hotly for the Election of a New Emperor , and the Nobility as violently promoting the Restoration of their ancient Privileges. The former hated the Senate, and had been highly oblig'd by the publick Spectacles and Donatives of the Emperors; therefore resolv'd to continue the Monarchy, and endeavour'd to discover the Conspirators. The *Prætorian* Cohorts, and the *German* Guards, had all the same Intention and Resolution with the Commons ; the former in hopes that the Election of the Emperor wou'd fall to their Determination, and the latter upon the account of the great Profits they had reap'd from the Execution of *Caligula's* Cruelties. These Divisions and Dissensions rais'd great Disturbances in the City ; and while Affairs continu'd in this Confusion, neither the Citizens nor Soldiers knew whom to nominate for Emperor, till some of the Soldiers running about the Palace, discover'd *Caligula's* Uncle *Claudius* in a secret Hole, in which he had hid himself out of Fear of his Life, and brought him upon their Shoulders to the Camp, where they proclaim'd him Emperor, when he in great Fear, expected nothing but Death at their Hands. Upon which the Senate sent to him, *To treat of such Matters as were for the publick Good* ; but *Claudius* alledg'd, *That he was detain'd by Force*, being much encourag'd by *Herod Agrippa* King of *Judæa*, and then at *Rome*, to oppose the Senates Determination. But *Claudius* had neither the Courage to attempt any Thing for himself or the Publick, behaving himself with all imaginable Fear and Con-

cern,

cern, till the Disturbances of the People, and the Terror of the Soldiers, caus'd some Compliance in the Senate, who finding *Claudius* nearer ally'd to the Empire than any other, as being Uncle to *Caligula*, and Brother to *Germanicus*, agreed to make him Emperor, confirming him shortly after.

Claudius was now fifty Years of Age, and till this time had liv'd in great Obscurity, bestowing much of his Time in Studying and Writing of History and other Subjects, of which he gave frequent and publick Testimonies of his Proficiency. But whether from his Corporeal Distempers, the gross Stupidity of his Nature, or the unactive Cowardice of his Temper, he cou'd not with all his Learning, acquire any Dignity in the State, besides some few Months Consulship with *Caligula*; nor yet extinguish the ill Opinion conceiv'd of him by most Persons. He had now cur'd himself of the Infirmities of his Body, and in a great Measure seem'd to have corrected those of his Mind; as was believ'd from his great Care he shew'd for the State, and his several good Acts he did in the Beginning of his Reign. The first was his disannulling all the cruel Edicts made by *Caligula*; commanding all to be deliver'd from Prison and Banishment, who had been unjustly confin'd, particularly *Caligula's* Sisters and Nieces. He shew'd himself very Merciful to his Enemies and Opposers in the Election, and pass'd a general Act of Pardon and Oblivion for all past Crimes; yet for a publick Example, and to terrifie others from the like Attempt, he commanded *Chareas* and some of the Conspirators to be executed, who suffer'd Death with great Boldness and Resolution, *Chareas* desiring only to die by the same Sword he had us'd against *Caligula*. This Emperor shew'd himself very discreet and temperate,

Claudius
made Empe-
ror.

as

Rome incre-
dibly populous.

as to Honours and Titles; and upon severe Penalties, forbad all Persons to Sacrifice to him as they had done to *Caligula*. He took a more than ordinary Care, that *Rome* shou'd be continually supply'd with all sorts of Corn, securing the Merchants against all Pirates by Sea; and this Care was the more necessary, because of the incredible Number of People in *Rome*; for in this Reign *Tacitus* assures us, that in one *Lustrum* were found six Millions 844000 Heads. *Claudius* likewise was very much employ'd in Magnificent Works and Buildings, of which three were of as great Note as any that the World could show: The first was a wonderful Conduit or Aqueduct, call'd after his own Name *Claudia*, much surpassing any other in *Rome*, either for the Nobleness of the Workmanship, or the Abundance of the Water it convey'd, which was brought forty Miles from *Rome*, through great Mountains, and over stately Arches in Vallies, and from thence carry'd on to the highest Hills in the City. The Second was a Haven of prodigious capacity, digg'd into the firm Land at *Ostia*; a Work of that exceeding Cost and Charge, that his Successors were not able to maintain it. The last was the dreining of a Lake call'd *Fucinus*, the largest of all *Italy*, in the Country of the *Marfi*, and the bringing all the Water into the River *Tiber*, to strengthen the Current of the Stream. For effecting of which, among other vast Difficulties, he mined through a high Mountain of Flint, three Miles in length, a Stupendous Undertaking, which constantly employ'd 30000 Men for eleven Years together, as many good Authors testify.

Claudius was no less careful about the Provinces and Governments, than about the City and Edifices; first confirming *Herod Agrippa* in his Kingdom,

dom, which *Caligula* had taken from his Uncle *Herod Antipas*, whom he likewise banish'd with *Herodias*; both being justly punish'd for their incestuous Match, and the unjust Death of *John Baptist*. *Claudius* enlarg'd *Agrippa's* Dominions, by an Addition of *Judea* and *Samarina*, which formerly belong'd to his Grandfather *Herod the Great*; and publish'd favourable Edicts in behalf of the *Jews*, who had groan'd under the Tyrannies of *Caligula*. This *Herod* endeavouring by all Ways to gratifie the *Jews*, rais'd a severe Persecution against the Apostles and *Christians* in those Parts, destroying *James*, and imprisoning *Peter*; but was shortly after punish'd by an Angel from Heaven, who in the midst of all his Pride and Glory, struck him with a foul Disease, which soon ended his impious Life, his Kingdom being given to his Son. *Claudius* also restor'd *Mithridates* the Iberian to his Kingdom, *Mithridates* the Cilician to the Kingdom of *Bosphorus*, and *Antiochus* to *Comagena*, all which had been depriv'd of their Kingdoms by his Predecessor *Caligula*. But he depriv'd the *Lycians* and *Rhodians* of their Liberty; the former for raising a Sedition, and killing several *Romans*, and the latter for Crucifying some of that Nation. About which time many of the *Britains*, having been harass'd with Civil Wars, and exasperated with dangerous Factions, began to seek the Protection of the *Romans*, and us'd all Methods to subject their Native Country to their Government. The principal of these was one *Bericus*, who by many Arguments perswaded the Emperor to make a Descent upon *Britain*, which none had attempted since *Julius Cæsar*, about 96 Years before. *Claudius* therefore ordered *A. Plantius* the *Prætor* to pass over from *Gaul*, who making Preparation for this great Expedition, his

Britain invaded a third time by the Romans.

A. D. 44.

Mutinous Soldiers refus'd to March, telling him, *That they wou'd not make War out of the Compass of the World*; for so they judg'd *Britain* to lie. But *Plantius*, by the Assistance of *Narcissus*, the Emperor's Favourite, in a short time quieted 'em; and passing over into *Britain*, overthrew the Sons of *Cynobelinus* several times, *Flavins Vespasian* his Lieutenant, performing many noble Exploits in this War. This Expedition was undertaken in the second Year of *Claudius's* Reign; in which Year *St. Peter*, according to the vulgar Opinion, came to *Rome* and settled himself there, after he had preach'd the Gospel in divers Parts of the World.

Claudius's Expedition.

A. D.

46.

The Senate decreed *Claudius* Triumphal Ornaments, upon the Account of the Successes in *Britain*; but he imagining that Honour beneath the Majesty of an Emperor, resolv'd in the fourth Year of his Reign, to pass over into *Britain* in Person, upon Pretence that the *Britains* were still Seditious, and had not deliver'd up some *Roman* Fugitives in their Possession. He made great Preparations both by Sea and Land, and landing in *Britain*, he in a short time subdu'd Part of the Country with little Opposition, and among other Towns *Camalodunum*, now *Maldon*, the Royal Seat of *Cynobelinus*; but whether he fought any Battel, Authors are not agreed. Having been divers times saluted *Imperator*, a thing not known in one Expedition, he disarm'd the *Britains*, and committing the Government of these, as likewise the War with the others not subdu'd to *Plantius*, he hastn'd to *Rome* in the sixth Month, sending before him *Pompey* and *Silanus* his Sons in Law, with the News of his Victories. Great Rejoycings were made at *Rome*, for the Conquest of this small Part of *Britain*, and every Person's Mouth

Mouth was fill'd with the Praises of *Claudius*, the Senate in honour to him, decreeing not only a splendid Triumph, but also Yearly Games, and Triumphal Arches both at *Rome* and *Gessoriacum* in *Gaul*, the Place where he took Shipping. *Claudius* made his Triumph in *Rome* with great Splendor and Magnificence; and that the Spectacle might be more glorious by the Confluence of People, he not only gave leave to the Governours of Provinces to be present at it, but permitted several banish'd Persons to return home, on purpose to behold it. In the Solemnity, his Empress *Messalina* follow'd him in a distant Chariot, magnificently adorn'd; and he himself Mounted the Steps of the *Capitol* on his Knees, being supported on each side by his two Sons-in-Law. Among the Spoils of his Enemies, he plac'd a Naval Crown of Gold hard by the *Civick* Crown, over the Gate of the Imperial Palace, in token of his Victory over the *British* Sea, when he cross'd it; and for the same Reason, he order'd his Son *Germanicus*, which he had by *Messalina*, shou'd be hereafter call'd *Britannicus*, the Name which was given to himself but just before. In the meantime *Plantius* carry'd on the War in *Britain* with that Success, that *Claudius* decreed him an Ovation, and when he enter'd *Rome*, he himself met him, giving him the right Hand all the Way. *Vespasian*, partly under *Claudius*, and partly under *Plantius*, fought thirty Battels with the Enemy, according to *Suetonius*; also subdu'd two mighty Nations, and above twenty Towns, together with the Isle of *Vectis* or *Wight*. For which Exploits he obtain'd Triumphal Ornaments, and within a short Space two Sacerdotal Dignities, with the Consulship, which he had the two last Months of the Year. Under him serv'd his Son

Titus in quality of a *Tribune*, whose extraordinary Valour and Modesty, gain'd him exceeding Reputation, as appears from the Number of his Images and their Inscriptions, throughout the Provinces of *Germany* and *Britain*.

Claudius began now to lessen his Care and Concern for the Publick; and to give himself up to his Gluttonous Disposition, and his passive Stupidity, but most of all to his Freed Men and Favourites, together with his libidinous Wife *Messalina*. To these he made himself so Subject, and was so much govern'd by 'em, that by their Directions and Counsels he committed many Disorders, Follies and Injuries, more like their Slave and Subject, than their Prince and Sovereign; pardoning such hainous Offences, and committing such Cruelties, as wou'd be tedious to mention all, those against his own Blood will be sufficient. The first was the Execution of *Appian Silanus*, a Person of the highest Merits, who had been Governour of *Spain*, and marry'd to his Mother-in-Law, whose Death was caus'd by the malicious Insinuations of his Wife *Messalina*, and his Favourite *Narcissus*. After him he put both his Sons-in Law *Silanus* and *Pompey* to Death, and the two *Livia's*, his own Nieces, one the Daughter of *Drusus*, and the other of *Germanicus*; and all without admitting of any Defence, and none knowing for what Cause. Great Numbers of others were likewise put to Death, by the abominable Practices of *Messalina* and his Freed Men, who bore so great a sway in the State that they sold Offices, Governments, and Dignities; and what was more dangerous, took Money for Pardons, Penalties, Punishments, and Banishments: A great part of which was practis'd without the Knowledge of the Emperor; so large was their Power

Power and Authority, and so gross his Ignorance and Stupidity. By Means of these great Disorders and Grievances, *Claudius* made himself odious to many, and principally to the Wiser sort; insomuch that several practis'd his Death, and conspir'd against him, tho' for his former good Acts he was still belov'd and esteem'd by great Numbers. But as those who hated him were more Numerous, or at least more bold, they fear'd not to make an Attempt upon his Life; of which were two *Equites*, who resolv'd to stab him, besides *Stacius Corvinus* and *Gallus Asinius*, two Persons of the highest Rank, who had made a Conspiracy against him. But the Designs and Practices of all being timely discovered, *Claudius* prevented the Danger by executing new Cruelties upon the said Parties, and upon such as had consented and participated with them; and finding himself freed from this Fear and Danger, he continu'd more vile in his impious Purposes, and cruel Courses.

But this Conspiracy was not the Emperor's ^{Camillus's} greatest Concern, for shortly after *Furius Camillus*, ^{Rebellion,} his Lieutenant in *Dalmatia*, incited by many principal Men of *Rome*, openly rebell'd against him; and the Legions of that Province joyning with him, he call'd himself by the Title of Emperor. This threw *Claudius* into the utmost Fear and Amazement; and as his Nature and his Crimes had made him more cowardly and timorous, than the rest of Mankind, he was so dejected and mean spirited, that upon *Camillus* his writing to him a hectoring Letter, *Commanding him to leave his Empire, and betake himself to a private and retir'd Life*, he assembled the principal Persons of his Council, to deliberate whether he shou'd resign to *Camillus*, or not: So that if the

His Death.

Rebellion had lasted, he wou'd have made but a feeble Defence of his Empire. But as *Camillus's* Pretences had no Foundation, and his ambitious Designs manifestly appearing to the Legions, they soon repented of their Choice, and destroy'd him five Days after, by reason of some remarkable Prodigies which had terrifi'd 'em, as some Authors write. And thus was *Claudius* deliver'd from this Danger, but not from Fear and Jealousie; for he liv'd ever after in Disquiets and Suspicions, insomuch that being one Day in the Temple offering his Sacrifices, and by chance finding a Sword which had been left there by Accident, he with great Trembling and Confusion, immediately caus'd the Senate to be assembled, and with Fear told the Fathers, *That he was a Man the most unfortunate and miserable of all others, and that he cou'd be assur'd at no Time or Place, but was continually in Danger*; and for many Days together he retir'd, and stirr'd not abroad. But *Messalina* with her Favourites and Confederates, made a more profitable Use of the Emperor's Fears and Suspicions, taking an Occasion from them to put many Persons to Death, and to confiscate their Goods, alledging, *That they were guilty of some of the late Conspiracies and Rebellion*; all which was effected in a most bloody and barbarous Manner, many being condemn'd and executed without Proof or Trial, and other Guilty Persons clear'd by means of Bribes and Gifts: And tho' for the most part *Claudius* was grossly abus'd and impos'd upon by those he most trusted, yet still the World believ'd him most guilty, and censur'd and hated him for these Acts. For besides his strange Remissness and Forgetfulness in all Things, and the great Trust which he repos'd in such impious Persons, he appear'd very bloody and cruel himself, being fre-

frequently present when Torments were inflicted, and with great Pleasure beholding the most exquisite Cruelties; a thing highly unworthy of his Office and Dignity. *Suetonius* writes that he put to Death thirty five Senators, and above three Hundred *Equites* in his Reign, and with so much Ease and Unconcernment, that one of his Captains bringing him an Account, *That according to his Command, such a Consular Man was executed*; he deny'd he had given any such Order, yet approv'd of what had been perform'd.

In the Seventh Year of this Emperor's Reign, *Messalina* ^{her} appear'd more publick in her Wickedness, and triumphant in her Adulterous Practices, in which she now became Superlatively Impudent; and to enter into all the Particulars of her Monstrous Lewdness, wou'd be a Scandal to my Story, and an Offence to my Reader. After she had Sacrific'd many of her Gallants, who were too deficiently Serviceable to her unbounded Desires, she fell passionately in love with *C. Silius*, the most beautiful Youth in all *Rome*, whom she oblig'd, tho' unwillingly, to divorce his Wife *Junia Syllana*, an illustrious Lady, that she might wholly enjoy the Adulterer to her self. Which she did not with Secrecy, but with a great Retinue frequented his House, was always at his Side, and profusely bestow'd Wealth and Honour upon him; and at last, as tho' Fortune had transferr'd the Empire to him, all Attendants and Imperial Ornaments were daily seen at the Adulterer's House. After some Space *Silius*, being apprehensive of the Dangers in which they had involv'd themselves, told her directly, *That Harmless Counsels were proper for the Innocent; but audacious and desperate Attempts were the only Security for open and manifest Villainies*; And after some little

Deliberation they agreed upon a notorious Expedient, impudent beyond all Example, and almost all Belief; which was to marry each other while the Emperor was alive, relying upon his stupid Blindness, and the transcendent Power she had over him. They waited no longer than for *Claudius's* Journey to *Ostia* shortly after, at which time they celebrated their Nuptials, with all the usual Ceremonies, and all the Shamelessness and Openness imaginable; which rais'd great Indignation and Jealousies among many in the City, who resolv'd to discover all the Empress's Practices to *Claudius* during his long stay at *Ostia*, but fear'd nothing so much as his admitting her to make her Defence, because her dextrous management of this blockish Prince might render their Accusations ineffectual. *Narcissus* first made the Discovery to him of this infamous Act, with an infinite number of other Villainies committed by her, which after many Aggravations and provoking Incitements somewhat rous'd him out of his drowsie Slumber and Forgetfulness; but at the same time threw him into such a dreadful Fright, that he oftentimes ask'd, *Whether he was still Sovereign of the Empire or not?* and was as cautious in his Preparations for their Punishment, as if he were to engage some dangerous Enemy.

In the mean time *Messalina*, never more loose and dissolute in her lascivious Frolicks and Debaucheries, celebrated with her Lover the Jovial Feasts of *Bacchus*, in the time of Vintage; the swelling Grapes were press'd, the Vessels flow'd with delicious Wines, Women, girt with Skins, danc'd about like Franticks; her self with her Hair, loosely dancing in the Air, shaking a Javelin finely wrap'd about with Vine Leaves; and *Silius* hard by, his Body cover'd with Ivy, and his

his Legs with Buskins, with a shameless Company of Singers and Dancers; all expressing the utmost Mirth and Jollity which the Heat and Extravagance of Humour cou'd produce. In the midst of it one *Valens*, an Idiot is said to have climb'd a Tree, and being demanded *What he saw there*, answer'd, *A cruel Storm coming from Ostia*, which cast a sudden Coldness and Damp upon the Minds of the Company. Shortly after which they receiv'd Intelligence, that the Emperor had made a full Discovery of the whole Matter, and was coming to take his Revenge. All retir'd with great Confusion to several Places, and *Messalina* to the Gardens belonging formerly to *Lucullus*, from whence she sent her Son and Daughter, *Britannicus* and *Octavia*, to meet the Emperor, and implore his Mercy, immediately after following them her self; but in vain, since *Narcissus* and her other Accusers so diverted *Claudius*, that he cou'd not attend to her Defence. *Silius*, and many other of her adulterous Companions were immediately secur'd, and shortly after receiv'd the just Reward of their Villainies, among which some were Senators and some were Players. All which time *Messalina* in *Lucullus's* Gardens endeavour'd by all possible Methods to prolong her wretched Life, sometimes using Prayers and Supplications, and other times shewing no less Rage and Anger; and had not *Narcissus* hasten'd her Death, she had probably turn'd the Mischief upon her Accusers Heads: For the Emperor having return'd from the Executions, and allay'd his Choler in a Banquet, began to relent, deferring her Punishment till after she had made her Defence. Which being understood, *Narcissus* rush'd out, and order'd the Centurions and Tribunes just by to execute her immediately, according to the Emperor's Commands; who
hast'ning

Messalina her
Death.

hast'ning to the Gardens, found her extended on the Earth, with her Mother *Lepida* sitting by her, who perswaded her, *Not to tarry for the Executioner, since she could expect no other Honour but the killing her self.* But she had no spark of Generosity left, and her Courage was too enfeebl'd with impure Sensuality to think on such an Attempt; tho' at last with many cowardly Fears and Tremblings she took a Sword from one of the Soldiers, and put it to her Throat, and then to her Breast; which at last was pierc'd with a Blow lent her by the Tribune; an End suitable to one who was the highest in Quality, but the most monstrous in Impiety of all her Sex. *Claudius* was immediately inform'd of her Death in the midst of his Banquet; but without the least Question ask'd, or Concern shew'd, he call'd for his Cup, and proceeded in his Banquet; and so strange was his Insensibility, that neither the ardent Love he bore her, the satisfaction of the Accusers, nor the sadness of his Children could make him give the least Tokens of Hate, Joy, Anger, Sorrow, or of any other Humane Passion or Affection. And what is still further remarkable, the next Day sitting at his Table, he ask'd, *Why Messalina came not to Supper.* The like monstrous Forgetfulness appear'd in many other Instances, as when he had condemn'd several particular Persons, he often ask'd and sent for 'em the next Day.

Claudius, now a Widower, declar'd publicly, *That since he had been unfortunate in his Marriages, he would live a single Life for the future, and if he continu'd not in that Resolution, he gave his Subjects leave to kill him;* but forgetting himself shortly after, he became such a Captive to the artful Caresses and great Beauty of his Niece *Agrippina*, Daughter to his Brother *Germanicus*, that in the next meet-

meeting of the Senate he suborn'd Persons to move, *That he might be compell'd to Marry, as a Matter of great Importance to the Common-wealth; and that according to his Example all Persons might be permitted in such Marriages as till now were look'd upon as Incestuous.* And when this was decreed, he had scarce Patience to contain himself a Day before the Solemnization of the Nuptials; but none follow'd his Example besides one of his Freed-Men, and one of the Captains of his Guards, at whose Nuptials both himself and *Agrippina* were present, for the greater Incouragement of those Marriages which were detested by the *Romans.* *Agrippina* was a Lady of very great Spirit and Understanding, and of ambitious Designs, and well knowing the Weaknesses and Infirmities of *Claudius's* Temper she soon found means to advance her Son *Domitius Nero*, which she had by her other Husband *Domitius Anobarbus*, procuring him to be marry'd to *Claudius's* Daughter *Octavia*, which was done some few Days after her own Marriage. Not long after which the Emperor's Favourite *Pallas*, by her Instigation urg'd *Claudius* To provide for the safety of the *Common-wealth*, and strengthen the Interest of his Son *Britannicus*, by his Adoption of young *Domitius*; for *Augustus's* Wife's Children flourish'd, tho' he had Grandsons of his own, and *Tiberius* notwithstanding his own Son *Drusus*, Adopted *Germanicus*. This Emperor, who as *Tacitus* says, had neither Judgment nor Malice, but what was put into him, immediately yielded to the Perswasion, preferring *Domitius* before his own Son *Britannicus*; and made a Speech upon that Account to the Senate, which he had receiv'd from *Pallas*. Great Thanks were return'd to *Claudius*, and exquisite Flatteries us'd to *Domitius*, and a Decree made by which he shou'd be accounted of the *Claudian* Family,

Claudius
marries his
Niece *Agrip-*
pina.

mily, and call'd *Claudius Nera*. This was done in the ninth Year of *Claudius's* Reign; in which Year he banish'd all the *Jews* from *Rome*, by reason of their being always in an Uproar and Tumult upon the Account of the new Religion of the *Christians*, as *Suetonius* assures us; and many are of Opinion, that under the Name of *Jews* the *Christians* were likewise expell'd. In this Year also were some Conquests made in *Mauritania* and those Parts, which were made into two Tributary Provinces, one call'd *Mauritania Cesariensis*, now the Kingdom of *Fez*, and *Mauritania Tingitania*, now the Kingdom of *Morocco*.

A. D.

51.

Further Con-
quests in Bri-
tain.

In the tenth Year of *Claudius's* Reign, the *Britains* Revolted, and upon the Arrival of *P. Ostorius*, *Pro-Prætor* in those Parts, grew more confident than before, contemning Him as a Person of no Military Experience. But he well-knowing, that the first Action wou'd either incourage or dishearten 'em, vigorously attack'd such as were up in Arms, and dispers'd 'em, proceeding to disarm all whom he had reason to suspect; but the *Iceni*, the Inhabitants of the present Counties of *Suffolk*, *Norfolk*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon*, a powerful Nation, refusing to submit, gain'd others over to their Party, and encamping upon commodious Ground, engag'd with the *Romans*, were at last Overthrown, but with the greater Bloodshed, by reason of their despair of Pardon. By this Overthrow of the *Iceni*, many others, before undetermin'd, were reduc'd to Obedience, and *Ostorius* led his Army against the *Cangi*, a People about the *Irish* Sea; and wasting their Territories, had pass'd almost to the *Ocean*, when he was recall'd by the Insurrections of the *Brigantes*, a People on the North of *England*, and having destroy'd the principal Revolters, the Rebellion was extinguish'd.

guish'd. But the *Silures*, the Inhabitants of South-Wales, wou'd by no Methods be al-lur'd or discourag'd from prosecuting the War against the *Romans*, relying upon their own Courages, and the Valour and Bravery of their great General *Caractacus*, who having waded through numerous Perils and Difficulties, had gain'd such Reputation, that he was justly preferr'd before all the *British* Commanders; and by his Policy and Conduct remov'd the Seat of the War into the Territories of the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of North-Wales, as more convenient for his Designs, by reason of the Rocks and Mountains. Here, at the Approach of the *Romans*, *Caractacus* in a Speech to his Soldiers told 'em, That this Battel shou'd either establish their glorious Liberty, or confirm their perpetual Servitude; and that they ought to remember the Honour of their Ancestors, who had driven Julius Caesar from this Isle; by whose Valour they were happily deliver'd from Axes and Tributes, and preserv'd their Wives and Childrens Bodies undefil'd. But as nothing cou'd withstand the Force of the *Roman* Legions, the *Britains*, tho' they had considerable Advantages in the beginning of the Battel, by reason of their Intrenchments, were after an obstinate Fight intirely routed, and the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* taken Prisoners, his Brothers surrendering themselves shortly after. *Caractacus* himself flying to *Cartismunda* Queen of the *Brigantes*, was treacherously bound and deliver'd up to the Conquerors, after nine Years brave Resistance of the *Romans*, by which he had gain'd great Fame and Renown.

Caractacus was brought to *Rome*, where all were desirous of seeing the Person who had so long contemn'd their Forces, and the People were assembled as at the Sight of some Publick Games

and

and Spectacles; the Emperor's Guards were plac'd in Order, and he himself seated on his Tribunal; the Captive Princes Vassals and Retinue going first, the Caparisons, and other Spoils of War follow'd after; then his Brothers, his Wife and Daughter; and last of all, he himself was brought before the People in a very remarkable Habit. The Prayers which the rest made to the Emperor were mean and servile; but *Caractacus* neither hanging down his Head, nor craving Mercy when he stood before the Tribunal, with a noble Bravery spoke thus: *If my Moderation in Prosperity had been equal to my Nobility and Fortune, I had come rather as a Friend into this City, than a Captive; nor wou'd you have disdain'd to have receiv'd me with Articles of Peace and Alliance, being a Prince nobly descended from Illustrious Progenitors, and an absolute Commander over many Nations. My present Fortune, as it is to me low and dishonourable, so to you it is glorious and magnificent. I have been Master of Horses, Men, Arms, and Wealth; what wonder is it, if after many Strugglings I have lost 'em all? For if you will command all Men, then all Men must endure Servitude. If I had yielded immediately, and without Opposition, neither my Fortune wou'd have been remarkable, nor your Glory memorable; and Oblivion wou'd have follow'd my Punishment. But if you save me alive, I shall be a perpetual Example of your Clemency. Upon these Words Claudius generously pardon'd him, his Wife and Brothers; and being all unbound, they paid their Reverence to Agrippina, who sat aloft on another Seat hard by; and gave her the like Praises and Thanks, as they had given to the Emperor. After this the Senate was assembled, where the Fathers made many commendatory Speeches concerning the Captivity of *Caractacus*; declaring, *It was no less honourable than when the**

Great

Great Scipio expos'd Syphax and Æmilius Persius ; and Ostorius was decreed Triumphal Ornaments, he being still in *Britain*. But now his Fortune began to change, either from his own Remissness or the Enemies Diligence, who suddenly got to Arms, and almost intirely cut off those Troops design'd for the bridling of the *Silures* ; which Advantage, and some others, caus'd a new Revolt of several other Nations, not long after which Ostorius, spent with Care and Labour, dy'd. In whose Place *Claudius* sent *A. Didius*, who found Affairs in an ill Posture ; but the *Britains* afterwards having Civil Contests, were several times overthrown, and then more easily kept under.

The Empress *Agrippina* in the mean time was industriously contriving to raise her self to the highest Degree of Greatness, as well as to secure the Succession of the Empire to her Son *Nero* ; and her Ambition carry'd her the further, by reason of her being Daughter, Sister, and Wife to an Emperor, and was now endeavouring to be Mother also. She had already procur'd the Deaths of some *Roman* Ladies, who had been her Rivals for her Marriage with *Claudius*, notwithstanding they were favour'd by *Narcissus* and *Calixtus* ; and to make her Reputation and Authority more conspicuous to the Provinces and Foreigners, she commanded a Colony to be planted at *Ubiun* on the *Rhine*, where she was born, calling it *Colonia Agrippina*, now *Cologn*. To facilitate her Son's Advancement, she had, besides his Marriage and Adoption, procur'd *Anneus Seneca* to be recall'd from Banishment, and the *Prætor*-ship to be given him, together with the Care and Tuition of her Son ; which Restoration and Advancement she knew wou'd be grateful to the People, who highly esteem'd him for his great Learning and eminent

nent Morality. She was likewise sensible that her Son might receive great Advantages from such a Master ; and she was so ambitious of his Succeeding in the Empire, that when it was told her by some Oracle or Augur, *That her Son shou'd be Emperor, but wou'd be the Death of her,* she answer'd, *Let him, so he but Reigns.* But she durst not level at that Mark while *Geta* and *Crispinus*, both favourers of *Britannicus*, continu'd Captains of the Guard ; which caus'd her to insinuate to the Emperor, *That the Guard was divided into Factions through the ambitious Contentions of the two Captains for Superiority ; and that true Discipline wou'd be better preserv'd if the Soldiers were commanded by one alone.* Upon which the whole Charge of the *Prætorian Cohorts* was transferr'd to *Burrhus Afranius*, a Person of great Fame in Military Affairs, yet well knowing by whose Favour and Practice he was advanc'd to this Post. This hapned in the tenth or eleventh Year of *Claudius's* his Reign, about which time he had finish'd his vast Work formerly mention'd in the *Lake Fucinus* ; but before the Water was let out, he order'd a Naval Battel to be fought there chiefly by Slaves and Persons condemn'd to Death or Banishment, promising Liberty and Rewards to the Conquerors. Fifty Gallies were us'd for this purpose, according to *Dion*, and Nineteen thousand Men, being equally divided, and beautifully adorn'd with Banners, Flags, and Streamers of various Colours ; one Party being call'd *Sicilians*, and the other *Rhodians*. To see this remarkable Spectacle, there came infinite Multitudes of People from all Parts of *Italy*, and from other Countries, which cover'd the Banks of the Lake and all the Hills and Mountains within view ; where the Emperor *Claudius*, with *Agrippina* and *Nero*, were conveniently

ently seated, most gloriously attir'd in Gold and Precious Stones. The Battel began with great Resolution and Obstinacy, these poor Men hacking and wounding each other most miserably, in Hopes of Liberty and Honour, and this continu'd the greatest Part of the Day, till one Party overcame the other, and so ended this cruel Pastime, and chargeable Vanity.

Claudius in the Twelfth Year of his Reign restor'd the *Rhodians* to their former Liberty upon their humble Repentance, and freed the Inhabitants of *Ilium* from all Customs and Tributes, as being the Originals of the *Roman* Progenitors. Young *Nero* pleaded the Causes of both Cities, whose Mother *Agrippina* now became more haughty and imperious than ever, so that she gain'd the Envy and Hatred of the Emperor's Favourites, and the Disesteem of *Claudius* himself, who, notwithstanding his strange Insensibility, began to repent of his Marriage with her, and the Adoption of her Son. Which *Agrippina* soon discover'd by his unusual Favours to *Britannicus*, and by what he accidentally declar'd when he was heated with Wine, *That he had ever been unfortunate in his Wives, but none of them had escap'd unpunish'd.* Whereupon *Agrippina* soon determin'd to procure her Husband's Death by Poyson, but was very doubtful what sort to use; a strong Poyson she judg'd wou'd make her Villainy too apparent; and a slow one might give the Emperor Opportunity of discovering so much of her Practices, as to prevent her Son's Succession; till at last she resolv'd upon some singular Potion, which might distract his Senses, and not too suddenly end his Life. For this she wanted not her Assistants, who infus'd the Poyson into some Mushrooms, a Dish which *Claudius* lov'd beyond measure;

She poysons
Claudius.

sure; but that only making him sick, *Agrippina* suddenly sent for *Xenophon* her Physician, who upon pretence of making him vomit, according to his usual Custom after his gluttonous Debauches, thrust a poyson'd Feather down his Throat, which shortly after ended his Life. This was the untimely End of *Claudius Cæsar*, the Fifth Emperor of *Romé*, after a Reign of Thirteen Years, eight Months, and twenty Days, in the Sixty fourth Year of his Age; a Person most remarkable for his Studies, having besides his writing several Pieces, added Three Letters to the *Latin* Alphabet, which continu'd in use no longer than his Reign. The State and Greatness of the *Roman* Empire was not much impair'd in this Reign; but the City and the Nobility were severely oppress'd, and barbarously treated; and the exorbitant Vices of the Emperor justly brought upon him his unnatural Death, and such a Death as seem'd proper to his insatiable Gluttony, which in a great measure had stupify'd him, and made him unfit for Government. His Death hapned in the 807th Year of the City, 55 Years after the Birth of our Saviour, and 22 after his Crucifixion.

A. D. 55.

III. Thus all Things had contributed to the Advancement of young *Nero*; and immediately after the Death of *Claudius*, *Agrippina* as one overwhelm'd with the Violence and Extremity of Grief, held *Britannicus* fast between her Arms, calling him the dear Image of his Father's Face, and by many Artifices detain'd him in the Chamber, doing the like to his Sisters *Antonia* and *Octavia*, placing a strong Guard at every Door and Passage, and often publishing that the Emperor was still in a hopeful Condition, till she found the most proper Time of the Day for the effecting her Designs.

Then

Then the Palace-Gates were suddenly set open, and *Nero* accompanied with *Burrhus*, Prefect of the *Prætorian* Guards, went out to the Cohort then attending, who at the Command of *Burrhus* receiv'd him with loud Acclamations, tho' not without some Enquiries after *Britannicus*, and carry'd him in a Chariot to the rest of the Cohorts. There *Nero* having made a Speech proper for the Time, and promis'd a Donative according to the Example of former Emperors, he was saluted Emperor; and shortly after this Sentence was confirm'd by a Decree of Senate; nor was there any great Scruple made of it in the Provinces. Then to shew an extraordinary Respect to the late Emperor, his Obsequies were celebrated with as much Pomp and Solemnity as those of the Great *Augustus*, *Agrippina* imitating the Magnificence of her great Grand-Mother *Livia*. Tho' *Claudius* was thus unreasonably honour'd by *Agrippina* and her Son, and even canoniz'd among the Gods, yet they refus'd to have his Will read publicly according to the usual Custom; justly conceiving that his unnatural Carriage to his own Son *Britannicus* wou'd provoke the Indignation of the People. *Nero* himself pronounc'd his Funeral Oration, and while he spake of the Antiquity of his Family, and the Consulships and Triumphs of his Ancestors, all were very attentive; as likewise when he spake of his Love to the Liberal Sciences, and that during his Government the Common-wealth was not injur'd by Foreign Power: But when he descended to his Providence and Wisdom, no Man cou'd withhold their Laughter; tho' the Oration compos'd by *Seneca* shew'd the exquisite Skill of that Man's pleasant Vein, finely adapted to the Ears of that Time. But some Persons made Reflexions of a different kind, namely, That *Nero* was the first

*Nero made
Emperor.*

Emperor of Rome that needed the Eloquence of another Man.

Nero, tho' but seventeen Years of Age began his Reign with the general Joy and Satisfaction of the City, which conceiv'd great Hopes from his outward Endeavours to serve the Publick. For first he promis'd to govern according to the famous and wise Rules and Institutions of *Augustus*, and began both in Words and Actions to shew himself Just, Liberal, and Merciful; conferring Favours, dividing large Sums of Money among the People and *Prætorian* Soldiers, and moderating the Impositions and Tributes of the Provinces; and to the Senators who were poor, he assign'd Pensions, using all Men with such Courtesy and Humanity, as there seem'd no Reason to fear those Miseries that afterwards follow'd. He likewise shew'd such great Clemency and Pity in the Execution of Justice and Punishments, that when a Warrant was brought to him to sign for a Condemn'd Person, with great Concern he said, *Wou'd to Heaven that I knew not how to write!* which Words are much extoll'd by his Master *Seneca*. He entertain'd in like manner all Men with exceeding Civility and Friendship, and in his Sports and Exercises he permitted any to be present; so that it seem'd as if God had sent the *Romans* such a Prince as they desir'd; and his first five Years Government was so excellent, in general, that the Emperor *Trajan* afterwards said, *That for that space all Governments came short of his.* But a great part of this is rather to be attributed to the wise Conduct of *Burrhus* and *Seneca*; which two were this Young Emperor's Guides and Governors, in equal Authority, and bearing equal share in divers Faculties; *Burrhus* in Military Discipline and Gravity of Manners; *Seneca* in Precepts of Eloquence

quence and Courteous Demeanour ; assisting each other in their Charge, the more effectually to restrain the Imperfections of Youth with honest and lawful Diversions, whenever Vertue shou'd lose its Power and Authority. Their Care was equally employ'd also in curbing the fierce and violent Temper of *Agrippina*, who boiling with the Ambitious Desires of Rule and Dominion, had destroy'd *Silanus*, Proconsul of *Asia*, and *Narcissus* ; the former without the Emperor's Knowledge, and the latter without his Consent. But her haughty and imperious Carriage began in no long time to alienate the Affection of her Son, at least so far as to abate her exorbitant Power and Authority ; and to her he shew'd his first Resentments, tho' she had given him not only Birth but Dominion also, for which she had sacrific'd both her Conscience and Honour. The first occasion was his falling in Love with *Acte*, a mean enfranchis'd Woman, which rais'd great Jealousie in *Agrippina*, who dreading the extravagant Power of a Concubine, us'd all Methods to prevent the Effects of his growing Passion ; but *Nero* by the assistance of *Orbo* and *Claudius Phœnicus*, two Persons lately advanc'd in his Favour, found means to obtain his beloved *Acte* ; which open'd a Passage to many other remarkable Accidents that follow'd, wherein he manifested his Hatred and Disobedience to his Mother, who till now had a transcendent Power over him, as well as others.

Agrippina finding the Disposition of her Son, attempted by all possible means to recover his Favour, sometime by authoritative Counsels and Instructions, and other times by servile Entreaties and Flatteries ; till *Nero* shortly after displacing her chief Favourite *Pallas*, she fell into the ex-

treamest Rage imaginable; and the more to terrify him, told him, *That Britannicus, a true and worthy Prince, was now in a Condition to receive his Father's Empire, which at present was possess'd by an Impostor*; threatening to go to the Camp and lay open all the Villainous Practices of her unfortunate Family, invoking likewise all the Infernal Furies to her Assistance. These furious Menaces put Nero in great Fear of a Competitor, if not the loss of his Empire; and to free himself from all Jealousies, he appointed a Poyson for *Britannicus*, which was given him with the greatest Secrecy, but had not its intended effect. Whereupon Nero had recourse to a second Potion, much stronger than the former; which was dext'rously administer'd to this young Prince in a Publick Banquet, and so suddenly spread through his Veins, that at once his Speech and Spirits forsook him. The Spectators were all amaz'd, and *Agrippina* and *Octavia* in a great Fright and Confusion; but Nero leaning unconcern'dly upon the Table, assuring the Company, *That it was only the Falling-Sickness, and they need not doubt his Recovery*; the rest, for different Ends and Purposes, dissembl'd their Griefs, compos'd their Countenances, and after some Silence the Mirth of the Banquet began again. *Britannicus* was privately bury'd that same Night, his mean Funeral being provided before; but *Agrippina*, tho' almost in a despairing Condition, still contended with her Son, entertaining the Tribunes and Centurions with all Courtesy, and honouring the Names and Vertues of the Nobility in Town, as though she had sought for a Head to raise a Faction. Whereupon Nero laying aside all Honour and Respect, commanded her Guard of *Germans* to be taken from her, and her self to be lodg'd out of the Palace, forbidding par-

Britannicus
poyson'd by
Nero.

particular Persons to visit her ; and he himself went very rarely to see her, and then with great Coldness and small Esteem shewn to her, either in respect of Nature or Quality. And being thus in Disgrace, as it is usual after such Misfortunes, most of her Friends abandon'd her ; and shortly after *Julia Silana*, Wife to the Famous *Silius*, falsely accus'd her of Conspiring against her Son, and that she was about marrying to *Rubellus Plautius*, descending from *Augustus*, by his Mother, and making him Emperor. This brought *Agrippina* into great Danger, till the Accusation was discover'd to be all Forgery and Falshood, and *Julia* banish'd. Which slight Punishment gave encouragement to a mercenary Fellow call'd *Petus* to accuse *Pallas* and *Burrhus* of endeavouring to depose *Nero*, and to set up *Cornelius Sylla* for Emperor ; but his Accusations appearing to have no Foundation, he and his Accomplices were banish'd. All this pass'd in the second Year of *Nero's* Reign, in the latter end of which Year *St. Paul* was brought Prisoner to *Rome*, by the Command of *Festus*, Governor of *Judaea*, who succeeded *Felix*, Brother to *Pallas*, who had been sent thither by *Claudius*.

As *Nero* encreas'd in Years, so his Vices and Extravagancies became more conspicuous ; and divesting himself of his Majesty and Quality, he frequently run about the City by Night, disguis'd in the Habit of a Slave, entering Taverns and Infamous Houses, with some lewd Companions, hurting Persons, and committing many Insolencies in the Streets, sometimes to the Danger of his own Life. And as the Vices and Follies of Princes, tho' condemn'd in their Absence, are generally excus'd, and often applauded in their Presence ; so *Nero's* Favourites endeavour'd not

to withdraw him from these Extravagancies, but only advis'd him to take care of his Person, and not to go without a Guard; by which means they were the occasion of far greater Riots and Disorders than before: And from these Practices of the Emperor, great numbers of profligate young Persons took occasion to do the like; so that infinite Violences were committed by him and them, which rais'd no small Tumults and Disturbances in the City; tho' in other Matters good Order was still observ'd, and Justice regularly administer'd; and the People bore the Mischiefs and Levities of the young Emperor with greater Patience, by reason of his bountiful Distributions of Money, and his abolishing certain Taxes and Impositions. The Provinces were also kept in excellent Order, and at present there was no Action or Wars but in the *East* against the *Parthians*, who having expell'd *Rhadamistus* out of *Armenia*, whom *Claudius* had plac'd over that Kingdom, they invaded *Armenia* with great Vigour. *Domitius Corbulo*, a worthy Commander, was thereupon sent for the Security of that Country, who for two or three Years perform'd nothing memorable by reason of the *Parthians* deferring the War. But afterwards *Tiridates*, Brother to *Vologesus*, King of *Parthia*, resolving to endeavour for that Crown, and the *Armenians* being inclinable to receive him, *Corbulo* immediately enter'd upon Action, took several Forts, and invested *Artaxata*, the Metropolis of the Country; and tho' the Inhabitants open'd the Gates to him, and by that means sav'd their own Lives, yet they cou'd not save the City, which being not tenible, was burnt and demolish'd. Upon this Success *Nero* was saluted *Imperator*, Statues and Triumphal Arches erected, and Processions made, with several other Honours deriv'd

riv'd from the extravagant Flatteries of the Senate; so that *C. Cassius* one of the Fathers, speaking of the Processions, said, *That if they wou'd give the Gods Thanks for so many Favours of Fortune, the whole Year wou'd not be sufficient for the Processions.*

Nero now in the fifth Year of his Reign, abandon'd himself to Sensuality without Distinction, falling in Love with *Poppæa Sabina*, Wife to his great Favourite *Otho* afterwards Emperor, a Lady of great Beauty and Endowments, but of no Chastity; and that he might enjoy her without any Obstacle, he sent her Husband into *Spain*, to be Governour of *Lusitania*, and yielded himself wholly to *Poppæa's* Charms, forgetting and abhorring his own Wife *Octavia*, and likewise his Mistress *Acte*. Whereupon *Poppæa* became so elevated with the infamous Favours she receiv'd, that she insolently urg'd the Emperor to divorce *Octavia*; and Marry her, jeering him as a *Pupil*, who not only wanted *Command and Authority*, but also *Liberty*, incensing him likewise against his Mother, who vigorously supported *Octavia's* Interest; and among other Methods to regain her Son's Favour, when he was heated with Wine, she offer'd the detestable Use of her Body to him; from which he was diverted by *Seneca*, tho' some Authors do not clear him of the Fact. However by means of *Poppæa's* Practices and his own Wickedness he resolv'd upon his Mother's Death, beginning with Poysons, which three times prov'd ineffectual, by reason of her Antidotes and Preservatives. After which he invented a Ship so artificially contriv'd, as it shou'd suddenly split in two, and let her perish in the Water; then dissembling a Reconciliation, he caus'd her to Sail to the Coasts of *Calabria*, under Colour of some publick Solemnities

Agrippina
murder'd by
Nero's Order.

ties in which he himself was assistant. Nero finding this Plot ineffectual also, she her self escaping when several of her Company perish'd, now resolv'd to put her to Death openly; and for that Reason he caus'd a Report to be spread, *That she had conspir'd against his Life*, and a Poyniard was dropt at his Feet by one who pretended a Command from *Agrippina* to dispatch him. Under which false Pretext, he commanded certain Tribunes to murder her, who upon their unsheathing their Swords, Authors write, *That Agrippina shewing 'em her Belly cry'd, Strike me here; for this Part has deserv'd it, since it has conceiv'd and brought forth such a Monster as Nero*, and immediately expir'd with the Wounds she receiv'd: And that *Nero* came immediately after to view his dead Mother, and stood gazing upon her naked Body, as if it had been that of a Beast; praising and dispraising her several Parts and Members, according to his Judgment, adding withal, *That he did not think she had been so beautiful*. This was the fatal End of *Agrippina*, a Woman who by her extravagant Pride and Ambition, and by a numerous Train of detestable Vices and Villanies, had drawn this punishment upon her self, which was the greater Judgment as proceeding from the impious Hands of her own Son; the Horror of which Fact, became a Scourge to his Mind, he often confessing, *That he was frequently disturb'd by the Apprehensions of his Mother's Ghost, and tormented by the Infernal Furies*.

Nero the next Day vindicated this Act before the Senate, laying many heavy Crimes to his Mother's Charge; and the Fathers not only excus'd, but also applauded the Deed; nay, to such a Sordidness of Spirit, were the Senate and People degenerated, that when he enter'd the City that Day, they met him with as much Pomp and

and Solemnity, as if he had return'd from some great Victory, many Vows and Sacrifices being made for the Emperors escaping so great a Treason. Hereupon he grew excessive proud, as *Lord over so many Slaves*, and seeing himself at Liberty, and free from any Restraint, he gave the Reins to his brutal Appetite, abandoning himself to all kinds of Extravagancies and Vices, such as were never practis'd by a Prince, or scarce conceiv'd by a Man. He now debas'd himself so much, as to become a Stage-Player, learning that Art, and frequently acting a Part before the whole City: and in this he had so high an Opinion of himself, that he generally procur'd great Numbers of Noble-Men and Young Ladies to be present when ever he play'd his Part. But singing was his principal Delight and Excellency, and he was so careful of his Voice, that he many times refus'd to eat, lest it shou'd receive any Damage; and he often purg'd himself, and made use of such Potions as were usual for the best Singers in those times. While he sung upon the Stage, no Man was permitted to depart the Theatre upon any Occasion, tho' never so urgent; insomuch that it is written, that Women were deliver'd there, and several Persons so weary'd with the Tedioufness and Flattery of the Applauses, that they either leap'd privately over the Wall, or else fell down, dissembling themselves dead, that they might be carry'd out as to their Burials. It is scarce credible with what excessive Fear and Anxiety, with what eager Emulation of his Fellow-Players, and with what direful Apprehension of the Judges, he contended for the Prizes of the Stage: And he was so mean and poor-spirited, that he most nicely observ'd, and curiously pry'd into every small Thing relating to his Competitors.

tors. Finally this Emperor forgetting the great Dignity and Majesty of his State, fell into all base and vile Exercises, and all imaginable Pollutions, so filthy and abominable as ought not to be mention'd by *Christians*; which afterwards brought him to the very Sink of all Impiety and Cruelty. And as Subjects generally imitate the Fashions and Behaviour of their Prince, so the *Romans*, who had been too much corrupted before by a long Security, and bad Princes, now more openly follow'd the Vices and Extravagancies of the Emperor; so that the very Laws and Customs, and Arts and Sciences began to be corrupted and forgotten; many of which Vices are ingeniously expos'd by *Persius* the famous, tho' obscure *Satyrist*, who flourish'd in this Reign.

A. D. 62.
Further Advantages in
Britain.

In the seventh Year of *Nero's* Reign, the Insurrections of the *Britains*, caus'd *Paullinus Suetonius* to be sent into those Parts, who first invaded the Isle *Mona*, now *Anglesey*, peopled with strong Inhabitants, and the Receptacle of all Fugitives; where he was receiv'd with numerous Multitudes on the Shore, and Women running with their Hair dishevell'd, and Fire-Brands in their Hands like Furies of Hell; the *Druides*, whose ancient Seats were in this Island, also pouring out most dreadful Imprecations. These at first discourag'd the *Romans*, but being animated by their General, they soon broke through, and dissipated this Furious Company, and destroy'd their Superstitious Woods and Groves, a Garrison being plac'd in that Island. During *Suetonius's* stay in this Island, *Prasatagus* King of the *Iceni*, provok'd by the Cruelty of the *Roman* Centurions and Slaves, who Scourg'd his Wife *Boadicia*, deslowr'd his Daughters, and ruin'd his Subjects, took up Arms, and caus'd a general Revolt of the *Britains*, who in a short

short time drove out *Calpus* the Governour; and pursuing their Advantages, they us'd so much Diligence, that in a few Days they slew 70000 *Romans* in several Places. The News of this great Disaster hastned the March of *Suetonius*, who having an Army of 10000 well disciplin'd Men, resolv'd to hazard a Battel with all Expedition, and choosing an advantageous Post, waited the coming down of the Enemy, which was shortly after, under the Conduct of Queen *Boadicia* her self. She with her two Daughters in her Chariot, rod about to the Companies, telling 'em, *That it had been usual before for the Britains to fight under the Conduct of Women, but she was now in a different Capacity than her Ancestors, being not to fight for a Kingdom, but as one of the ordinary sort to revenge her lost Liberty, her own dishonourable Stripes, and the violated Chastity of her Daughters. That the Lusts of the Romans were now become so exorbitant, that they left no Virgin undefil'd. Therefore she herself was resolv'd to obtain Victory or Death, as she was a Woman; but the Men, if they pleas'd, might chuse Life and Slavery.* *Suetonius* on the other side, encourag'd his Men not to be disheartned at the Enemies Numbers, and advancing with great Bravery, soon overthrew the disorderly Troops of the *Britains*, who wanted not the Courage but Discipline of renown'd Soldiers. Some write that not less than 80000 of the *Britains* were slain, and the more by reason of the Difficulty of their Flight, which was hinder'd by the great Numbers of Waggons plac'd about the Army, where their Wives were seated in expectation of Victory. *Boadicia* resolving not to outlive this fatal Defeat, poyson'd her self: And this remarkable Victory, together with the New Supplies sent shortly after into these Parts, brought the *Britains* to a Peace inno long time after. *Nero*

Nero maries
Poppæa, and
kills Octavia.

Nero the mean time proceeded in his Enormities and Cruelties, the Cares of *Burrhus* and *Seneca* nothing availing; and in the ninth Year of his Reign, the former dy'd, not without Suspicion of Poyson by *Nero's* Order, which so weakened the Interest and Authority of the other, that seeing himself despis'd, he desir'd Permission of the Emperor to withdraw himself, likewise offering to deliver up his large Estate, which had created him so much Envy; but *Nero* having learnt and practis'd Dissimulation, under colour of Respect, denyed his Petition. He now unjustly put many eminent Persons to Death, among the rest *Rabellius Plautus*, and *Pallas*, the former for being of the *Julian* Family, and the latter for being rich, a Crime for which many suffer'd; then proceeding in his Cruelties, he divorce'd his Wife *Octavia*, upon the Account of *Poppæa*, whom he now marry'd; and when the People murmur'd at this Injury, he caus'd her to be put to Death. All which time the Wars in *Armenia* were continu'd against the *Parthians*, *Corbulo* having after many Successes dispossest *Tiridates*, and settled *Tigranes* in *Armenia*; which caus'd *Vologesus* King of *Parthia* to invade *Armenia* with a Powerful Army, endeavouring to re-establish his Brother *Tiridates*, which he effected in no long Space. But upon the Reinforcements of *Corbulo*, and another Invasion of *Armenia*, the *Parthians* were brought to a Treaty, wherein it was agreed, That *Tiridates* laying down his Crown at the Feet of *Nero's* Statue, shou'd not receive it without his Leave. But *Nero* being desirous of vain Glory, and a glorious Spectacle, by Letters and great Promises, invited *Tiridates* to come to *Rome*; which he shortly after perform'd, being nobly accompany'd and honourably entertain'd. *Nero* attended his coming with most

most Magnificent Preparations, accompany'd with the whole Senate and People, and seated in a stately Throne, with all the imaginable Pomp of Majesty and Grandeur, and almost surrounded with Military Ensigns and Banners, the *Prætorian* Cohorts standing by all in their rich and bright Armour. *Tiridates* ascended the Scaffold where *Nero* sat with great Formality, and approaching the Emperor, he fell at his Feet, who taking him by the right Hand, rais'd him, and plac'd a Crown upon his Head, using many Words and Pompous Ceremonies. *Tiridates* being Crown'd with this Solemnity, after many sumptuous Feasts made him in *Rome*, and many Honours shewn him, departed for his own Country, carrying with him an incredible Mass of Money, which the Emperor gave him for his Journey. *Nero* was also saluted *Imperator*, and having caus'd a Crown of Laurel to be carry'd into the *Capitol*, he shut up the Temple of *Janus* in token of an universal Peace, having been open about 64 Years.

*Janus's Temple shut the sixth Time.
A. D. 64.*

Shortly after the Departure of *Tiridates*, *Nero* took a Journey into *Greece*, reporting that he design'd to cut the Isthmus of *Peloponnesus*; and tho' he began that Work, yet his chief Intention was acting of Plays, (which he did in all the Theatres where he came) Singing, and running of Chariot Races. Running in the *Olympick* Games, tho' he fell from his Chariot, he was notwithstanding rewarded with a Crown as Victor; after which he return'd to *Rome*, entring in Triumph in the Chariot of *Augustus*, surrounded with Musicians and Players, brought from all Parts of the World. In the following Year he fell into more prodigious Impieties than ever, and into unheard of Pollutions; and as nothing is so monstrous as Lust when

when it is unconfin'd, so it brought *Nero* into the most extravagant Follies, and unnatural Inconsistencies, that ever any Monster conceiv'd. Having attir'd himself in the Habit of a Woman, and cover'd with a yellow Veil like a Bride, he was wedded to one of his abominable Crew call'd *Pythagoras*; after which he became a Husband to a Boy call'd *Sporus*, from whom he took as much of the Male as was possible, adorning him with the Ornaments of an Empress, and accompanying him in all publick Places. His unbounded Lust and exorbitant Luxury, daily encreas'd the Rage of his fierce and cruel Mind, so that he destroy'd such Numbers of People, that he rather appear'd a Devil incarnate, than a Man; likewise boasting of his Actions, and saying, *That none of his Predecessors knew their own Power*. He often said, *That he had rather be hated than lov'd, because the People lov'd him according to their own Humours, but hated him according to his*; and when one in his Presence said as a Proverb, *When I am dead, let the World be burnt*. Nay, reply'd he, *let it be while I am alive*. And not long after this, he caus'd *Rome* to be set on Fire in several Places, getting himself upon a high Tower, beholding the miserable Desolation with infinite Joy and Satisfaction, and in a Players Habit singing, *The Destruction of Troy*. The Fire continu'd above six Days, consuming innumerable Rows of stately and glorious Buildings, and Riches, Goods and Merchandice of an inestimable Value, there being but four Parts of the fourteen remaining. And *Nero* to make his Wickedness more compleat, out of Hatred to the *Christians*, which were then very numerous in the City, accus'd them of this Fact, and rais'd the first general Persecution, putting great Numbers of 'em to Death, causing some

*Nero set's
Rome on Fire.*

*The first general
Persecution.
A. D. 65.*

to be cover'd with skins of wild Beasts, and to be devour'd by Dogs, others to be Crucifi'd, and others to be burnt alive, and in the Night to give Light to Passengers, as *Tacitus* assures us. This Persecution began in the eleventh Year of *Nero's* Reign, and 32 after our Saviour's Crucifixion; in which Persecution besides *St. Paul* who was beheaded, *St. Peter* also was crown'd with Martyrdom, being crucifi'd, as it is written, with his Head downwards, which Death he chose as more dishonourable than that of his Lord and Master.

Nero after his burning the City, as tho' he desir'd to free himself from that Aspersion, took great care to re-edifie it, especially his own Palace, which was done with far greater Magnificence than formerly: It now reach'd from Mount *Palatine* to Mount *Esquiline*, the Entrance Spacious enough to receive a Colossus of this Emperor a hundred and twenty Foot high; the Galleries consisted of three Rows of Stately Pillars a full Mile in length; and within were large Ponds, curious Gardens and Orchards, and pleasant Hills and Groves, wherein were all sorts of Wild Beasts. The Halls and Dining Rooms, besides their being built of Marble, Alabaster, Jasper, Topazes, and other excellent Stones, had the Timber Works and Cielings richly inlaid with Gold and Ivory, and gloriously adorn'd with Precious Stones and Mother of Pearl: Some of which Rooms were beautifully arch'd like the Firmament, the Roofs being moveable, having Ventrals and Alembicks of Gold and Ivory, which frequently cast out sweet Waters, and most precious Oyls. I need not descend to further Particulars, it being sufficient to observe, that this Emperor's Structures were Magnificent to a Miracle,

racle, and his Prodigalities boundless to Madness, and scarcely so much in his Buildings as in most other Things, wherein his Excess was incredible. He highly extoll'd the Management of his Uncle *Caligula*, for spending in so short a time such vast Sums as had been hoarded up by *Tiberius*; and whenever he went a-fishing, his Nets were of Gold Thred, and the Cords of the finest Silk. In his Journeys and Progresses, which were very frequent, besides an infinite Number of Followers and Attendants, he never had less than a Thousand Waggons for his Wardrobe, drawn with Mules richly adorn'd and shod with Silver, and the Leaders of 'em gloriously attir'd in Cloth of Gold, Silver, and Silk. His Donatives to the People were still more extravagant; for whereas other Emperors were wont to throw set Quantities of Money and Things of small Value among the People, call'd *Missilia*, being for them who cou'd first catch 'em, this Emperor brought out vast Quantities of rich Apparel, Gold, Silver, and Precious Stones; and for Things which cou'd not be thrown abroad in their Kind, he caus'd certain Tickets to be cast among the People, each containing what the Person shou'd have into whose Hands it came, as Wheat, Herds, Slaves, extending so far as to give Heritages, Fields, Houses, Islands, and Things of extraordinary Value. All which immense Prodigalities caus'd him to use intolerable Extortions and Exactions in all the Provinces; which were such, as many Places were dispeopled and became desolate; tho' his profuse Gifts in a great measure preserv'd the Love of the Commons of *Rome*.

A. D.
66.

But as this Emperor's Actions were insupportable to the generality of his Subjects, the following Year, after the Burning of *Rome*, many of the Principal

Principal Noble-men of *Rome* form'd a Conspiracy against him, at the Head of which was *Caius Piso*, a Person whom *Tacitus* gives an excellent Character of, and according to his Name the Plot was call'd *Pisoniana*. But this was discover'd before it took Effect, and in stead of the happy Consequences that were expected by some, it open'd a Passage to new Mischiefs and Cruelties: For upon this Occasion *Nero* put great Numbers to Death of all Ranks, Noble and Ignoble, Guilty and Innocent; among which Numbers dy'd the great Poet *Lucan*, a Man of extraordinary Flame and Spirit, tho' not of so great Judgment, who hated *Nero* for his forbidding him to publish his Verses, vainly comparing his own to them. *Seneca* was likewise condemn'd, not being convicted of any Treason, tho' accus'd by one *Natalis*, to compliment *Nero* as was believ'd, the Emperor having an earnest Desire to dispatch him, as appear'd from his former Attempts by Poyson, tho' he had sworn to *Seneca*, *Rather to lose his own Life, than to hurt him*. *Seneca* being commanded to die, chearfully undertook it, but was oblig'd to seek for Death several Ways; for he had so macerated himself with Abstinence, that he cou'd not bleed, and Poyson wou'd have no Operation upon him; but at length entring a Bath, he was stifi'd with the Fumes, having according to his usual Elegancy, discours'd even to the last, of many excellent Things, which being taken from his Mouth, were afterwards publish'd. Such was the Death of this great Philosopher *Seneca*, according to *Tacitus*, who gives him a far better Character than *Dion Cassius*; and if the Account which the latter gives of him may be credited, we may truly say, that his Death was a just Judgment upon him, for living so contrary

*The Death of
Lucan,*

of Seneca,

and of Pe-
tronus.

to his Writings and Principles, and for educating his Pupil no better. Not long after *Seneca*, follow'd *C. Petronius*, the most polite, tho' not the chastest of the *Roman* Writers, a Person who had been a great Assistant to *Nero* in his unlawful Pleasures, and one famous for his exquisite Art of heightning and refining a voluptuous Life. His Death was the most remarkable in the World, and most resembling the whole Course of his Life, in which he proceeded with the least imaginable Concern, opening his Veins, and closing 'em as he thought fit, discoursing with his Friends, not of serious Matters, or of the Immortality of the Soul, but of light and pleasant Things, all the time attending to soft Verses, and delicate Love-Songs. So that his Death, tho' constrain'd, seem'd casual, no Circumstance marking the least Perplexity of a dying Person; and in him it might be truly said, *That to die is to cease living.*

In the Twelfth Year of *Nero's* Reign the *Jews* fell into a desperate Rebellion, having been severely oppress'd by the *Roman* Deputies and Governours; especially by *Florus* the latter, who was arriv'd to that Degree of Tyranny, as by a publick Crier to give Permission to rob and steal through the whole Country, on Condition that he might have part of the Booty. It was manifest that the terrible Vengeance of Heaven was now falling upon this miserable Nation, having so obstinately blinded themselves against the undeniable Miracles of our Saviour, and shed his innocent Blood, which they solemnly imprecated upon themselves and their whole Race, and brought upon 'em the most calamitous Misfortunes and the extremest Miseries that ever any People suffer'd since the Creation of the World. For such intolerable Robberies and Devastations, and
such

such barbarous Murders and Massacres were committed in all Parts; such implacable Divisions and Factions, and such amazing Delusions by false Prophets prevail'd among 'em, as after a wonderful manner subverted the whole State, drew upon 'em the utmost Malice of their Enemies, and apparently demonstrated the highest Displeasure of Almighty God: Notwithstanding these Miseries among themselves, and the Massacre of 200000 Jews in one Day, and 50000 in another, they prevail'd so much against *Cestius Gallus*, Governour of Syria, who was sent against 'em, as to expell him *Judea*: *Nero* now wanted *Corbulo* whom he had lately put to death, and deliberating whom to send thither, at length design'd *Vespasian*, as the only Person capable of such a Charge, tho' he had not long before forbid him his Presence, upon the Account of his Drowsiness or Indifference in the Theatre when he Acted and Sung upon the Stage; but now wanting his Service, and not fearing him by reason of the Meanness of his Birth and Name, invested him with this Office. *Vespasian* using all possible Expedition, gather'd a mighty Army from *Egypt* and *Syria*, and together with his Son *Titus* first Invaded the Province of *Galilee*, and in a short time storm'd *Gedara*, destroying the Town, and putting the Jews to the Sword: Then advancing to *Jotapata*, he took that Place by Storm, after a close Siege of Forty Days, being bravely defended by *Josephus* the famous Historian, who has given us a large Account of this remarkable Siege, and all these Wars, and tells us, that in the Siege alone 400000 Jews perish'd: *Josephus* was here taken Prisoner, and order'd to be sent to *Nero*; but desiring to speak with *Vespasian*, foretold him, That he shou'd loose him from his Captivity, but shou'd first be Empe-

Vespasian's Expedition against the Jews.

ror himself. After some Refreshment of the Legions, *Vespasian* advanc'd to *Tiberias* and *Tarichena*, of which the former yielded, and was spared at the Request of *Agrippa*, but the latter was taken by Force and destroy'd, where great numbers perish'd, besides 30000 which were sold. After this he proceeded with great Valour and Conduct against *Gamala*, and *Giscala*, with the Hill *Itaburium*, all which were taken with terrible Slaughters of the *Jews*; and all *Galilee* being now reduc'd, *Vespasian* and *Titus* return'd to *Casarea*.

The first great
Revolution in
the Roman
Empire.

During the time of these great Actions, the inbred Distempers of the Roman Empire, which had been contracted by the notorious Mismanagement of four succeeding Princes, began to break out and discover themselves in their furious Effects. The Romans had with great Patience and Courage born the Calamities proceeding from the fatal Dissimulation of *Tiberius*, the monstrous Brutality of *Caligula*, and the dangerous Stupidity of *Claudius*: but the raging Fury of *Nero* having exhausted all humane Patience, there was a general Revolution in Mens Minds, and as general a Resolution in all their Actions. This appear'd first in *Gaul*, by means of *Julius Vindex*, one of that Nation, but of the Senatorian Degree, who commanded the Legions there, and publickly protested against the Actions and Government of *Nero*; which he did with so little Fear of his own Life, that when it was told him, That *Nero* had priz'd his Head at ten Millions of *Sesterces*, he made answer, Whoever brings *Nero's* Head to me, shall have mine in exchange. But to shew that he had no ambitious Designs of Sovereignty himself, he proclaim'd *Sergius Galba* Emperor, a Person eminent for his Illustrious Family, with the several Charges and

and Dignities he had worthily Executed, who being now Governor of part of Spain, to secure himself from Nero had given himself to an unactive and obscure kind of Life. *Vindex* wrote several Letters to him in Spain, earnestly perswading him to declare himself in favour of Mankind, against such a Monster as Nero; which was very acceptable to him, tho' he durst not proceed but with great Caution, till he fully discover'd the readiness of his Soldiers, and the Inhabitants of his Province. Therefore on a Day appointed for Enfranchising of Slaves, having his Army, and all the Country about him, he spoke to 'em after this manner; *My Fellow-Soldiers and Friends, we are assembl'd to bestow upon others the great Benefit of Liberty and Freedom; a Benefit of which we our selves have had but small Enjoyment, tho' belonging to us by all the Rights of Nature and Fortune. It grieves me to say, but it hinders not every Man from seeing, That no Slave under the severest Master, ever endur'd a Year of harder Service than we have so many under Nero. What kind of Exaction has he not us'd to supply with Extortion what he has spent with Shame? What kind of Cruelty has he not practis'd? Has he not wallow'd in the Blood of his Father, his Brother, his Mother, his Wife, his Master, and all who are Valiant or Vertuous in the Senate, City, or Provinces, without any distinction of Age or Sex? All which cry for Vengeance upon such a Prince: A Prince! No, an Incendiary, a Singer, a Fidler, a Player, a Carrier, a Cryer, no Prince, nay, no Man, having a Man to his Husband, and a Man to his Wife, but a Monster of Mankind; against whom what Vindex in Gaul has already acted, I well know; and I am most sorry to hear. The whole course of my former Life has been far remov'd from ambitious and aspiring Designs; and I cou'd heartily wish, that the small Remainder of my Days were spent*

in more Ease; but since, by what Misfortune I know not, some have impos'd upon me a Part which I never design'd to sustain, and least of all at this Age, I will not refuse, with your Approbation, to sacrifice my infirm Body for the Good of my Country, not as Emperor or Augustus, which sacred Names I adore at a distance, not daring to approach 'em, but as

Galba declar'd
Emperor by the
Soldiers in
Spain.

The Speech was not finish'd, when the Soldiers and People with one common Voice interrupting him, saluted him *Emperor*. Galba commending their Zeal to the Good of the Empire, and accepting the Substance, refus'd the Title, terming himself, *Lieutenant of the Senate and People of Rome*.

The first News of *Vindex's* Revolt came to Nero at *Naples*, in the midst of his Pleasures, but he was so little affected with it, that he seem'd rather to rejoice, as having an occasion of pillaging those opulent Provinces by the Right of War: At Supper also receiving Letters of fresher Advice, more pressing and importunate than the former, he shew'd no other Emotion than a bare threatening the Revolter for disturbing his Pleasures and Recreations; and so for eight Days continu'd without Writing or giving any Orders about the Publick. At length the opprobrious Edicts of *Vindex* so far awaken'd him, as he writ to the Senate, recommending to the Fathers the Interest of himself and the Republick, excusing his Absence with the Pretence of some Indisposition. But nothing mov'd nor inrag'd Nero so much as *Vindex's* calling him *Unskilful Musician*, often demanding of the Persons about him, *Whether they really knew any in that Profession more skilful than himself?* The Senate receiving Nero's Letters, out of Flattery and Fear, judg'd *Vindex* a Traitor to the State; but urg'd by new Alarms, he in a great Fright repair'd
to

to Rome, where not calling the Senate or People together, but some Principal Men to his Palace late at Night, as to consult about urgent Affairs, he shew'd 'em certain Engines and Contrivances of Musick by Water-Instruments, sagely discoursing of the Nature and Workmanship of each, and that he shortly wou'd produce 'em on the Stage, if Vindex wou'd give him liberty. But hearing shortly after of the Commotions in Spain, under Galba, he, in a great Rage rent his Clothes, beat his Head, crying out, *He was undone, his Misfortunes above all Presidents, being alive to see his Empire lost!* and wou'd receive no Comfort till the Senate by Decree had declar'd Galba an Enemy to the State. And he was so sordidly Infatuated, that even in so great a Disorder of Affairs, he continu'd his former Debauches; and soon after putting Galba's Servants in Prison, seiz'd his Goods, and expos'd 'em to Sale. After that he enter'd upon the most barbarous and outrageous Designs imaginable, resolving to Massacre all Governors of Provinces, and Commanders of Armies, under Pretence of Conspiracies; to destroy all Exil'd Persons, lest they shou'd joyn with the Revolters; to murder all the Gauls in Rome, as Favourers of their Country-men; to give up Gaul to the Plunder of his Army; to Poyson the whole Senate at an Entertainment; to burn the City, and to turn out Wild-Beasts among the People, that so obstructing the extinguishing of the Fire, their Destruction might be the more inevitable. But setting aside these Designs, not out of Compunction or Remorse, but out of Despair of effecting 'em, he determin'd to take a Voyage in Person; and among his Preparations, his principal Care was to procure Waggons convenient for the Carriage of his Musical Instruments for the Theatre; to cut
the

the Hair of his Concubines after the Fashion of Men, and to Arm 'em like *Amazons*, with Battle-Axes and Shields.

As in a corrupt Body, full of malignant Humours, the first Pain that appears, draws on the rest, discloses old Aches and Strains, and agitates all that is unsound in the Body ; so in a State, when it is universally dislik'd, the first Disorder endangers a Dissolution of the whole : For this one Attempt of *Vindex* not only caus'd the Revolt of the Armies in *Spain*, but shortly after that of the Legions in *Germany* and other Places, all unanimously declaring against the present Government. Upon which news, *Nero* being at Dinner, in a desperate Fury tore the Letters, over-turn'd the Table, dash'd two Crystal Cups of great Value on the Ground, and casting off all Care of his own Preservation, call'd for Poyson, which he enclos'd in a Golden Box, that his Death might be according to his State, and so went into the *Servilian* Gardens. From thence he dispatch'd the Freed-men, in whom he had most Confidence, to prepare his Fleet at *Ostia* ; then sounding the Minds of the Tribunes and Centurions of his Guards, and finding 'em unwilling to accompany him, and one of 'em to ask him, *Whether it was so hard a thing to die*, he was quite distracted and confounded in his Thoughts and Intentions ; and he cou'd not resolve whether he shou'd address himself to the *Parthians*, whom he had lately oblig'd, or to *Galba* in a supplicatory way ; or whether he shou'd put himself in deep Mourning, appear publicly before the *Rostres*, and with all possible Humility and Dejection implore the Peoples Forgiveness for what was past, and if they were inflexible to beg the Government of *Egypt*. He at last determin'd to do this,

this, but fearing the People shou'd tear him in Pieces before he got to the Place, he deferr'd the Matter till the next Morning; but awaking at Midnight, and understanding that his Guards were retir'd, he leapt out of Bed and sent about for some of his Friends; from whom receiving no Answer, he went to their Lodgings himself, with two or three others. Thus the great Monarch of the World, lately ador'd as a God, and attended by Thousands of Friends, Soldiers, and Servants, now as a common Page stood knocking at Doors, finding all shut against his unfortunate State. And now destitute of all Assistance and Advice from Friends, he return'd back, where finding his Chamber rifled, his Servants fled, and his Poyson remov'd, he sought for *Spicillus*, a Gladiator, or some other, to be slain by him; but finding none, he cry'd, *Then I have neither Friend nor Foe*, and ran desperately out as tho' he wou'd have thrown himself into the River *Tiber*: But making a sudden stop, and desiring some secret Place a little to recollect his Reason, and reassume his Courage, *Phaon*, his Freed-Man, offer'd his House four Miles distant in the Country, which *Nero* accepted; and so accompany'd with four Men, of whom *Sporus* was one, he fled away meanly Apparell'd, and worse Mounted, hiding his Face with an Handkerchief. In his Journey he was infinitely dismay'd by a violent Trembling of the Earth, and prodigious flashes of Lightning; and passing by the Camp, he heard a great noise of Soldiers cursing him, and wishing all good Fortune and Prosperity to *Galba*. After which, to prevent all Discovery, they forsook the Highway, creeping through Briars and Bushes into a Thicket of Reeds on the backside of *Phaon's* Farm-House; where a Hole was beaten in the Wall, through

through which *Nero* crept in like a Beast upon all four, casting himself upon a mean Pallet in a back Room.

During *Nero's* Absence, the Senate assembl'd, and pronounc'd him a mortal Enemy to the State, and condemn'd him to Death *More Majorum*, sending into all Parts to seek him, and bring him alive. The Account of this Determination was brought to *Nero* by one of *Phaon's* Servants, who found him making Preparations for his own Death, with a Thousand servile Sighs, and inglorious Tears, repeating several Times, *What an Artist will the World lose!* He hearing the sorrowful News of his Doom from the Senate, demanded what *More Majorum* meant, and what kind of Punishment it was? and understanding, that he was to be stript Naked, his Head fasten'd in a Pillory, and in that Posture to be Scourg'd to Death, he was so terrify'd, that he snatch'd up a couple of Daggers; but after feeling their Points, with great Trembling he put 'em up again, pretending, *That his Fatal Hour was not yet come.* Sometimes he begg'd and intreated, that one of them present wou'd instruct him how to die, by killing themselves first; greatly deceiving himself in desiring so Courageous an Example out of so debauch'd a School: Other times he condemn'd his own Pusillanimity and poorness of Spirit, till hearing the noise of some Horsemen sent by the Senate to seek him, he set a Dagger to his Throat, with which, by the assistance of *Epaphroditus*, his Secretary, he wounded himself so as he dy'd shortly after. Before he was quite Dead, an Officer came in, and pretending he came to his Relief, he stopp'd the Wound with his Cloak, and endeavour'd to stanch the Blood; to whom *Nero* gave no Answer but, *Tis*

*The Death of
Nero.*

too late, and, *Is this your Fidelity and Allegiance?* with which Expression he expir'd, his Eyes strangely fix'd, and staring out of his Head, to the wonderful Terror and Amazement of all that were present. This was the miserable End of Nero, the Sixth Emperor of Rome, who, by his abominable Life, had brought upon himself all the cruel Misfortunes that cou'd befall a Prince, and upon the State all the dreadful Calamities that cou'd arise from unjust Tyranny in his Lifetime, and from intestine Convulsions after his Death. He Reign'd thirteen Years, seven Months, and twenty eight Days; and was taken off in the prime of his Years, being in the 32^d Year of his Age, in which space his Cruelties gain'd him a Name odious not only to his Subjects, but to all Generations, and even to a Proverb; a Punishment the greatest that can happen to a Prince in this World. He was the last of the Family of the *Cæsars* which Reign'd in Rome, tho' the following Emperors had the Titles of *Cæsar*; and he dy'd U. C. 821. A. D. 69. being 112 Years after the Beginning of the Empire by *Julius Cæsar*, and 94 after the full Settlement of it by *Augustus*.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

From the Death of Nero, to the Death of Vellius, the Ninth Emperor; after which the Empire became Hereditary a Second Time.

Containing the space of almost two Tears.

A. D.
69.

Galba made
Emperor.

I. **N**Ever was a more universal Joy and Satisfaction in *Rome* than at the Death of *Nero*; all Persons came running into the Streets to congratulate one another, with peculiar Caps on their Heads, such as Slaves wore when their Masters first gave 'em their Freedom; and they unanimously decreed to create *Galba* Emperor, who was now in *Spain*, esteeming him a Person of great Wisdom and Valour. He was now Seventy Two Years of Age, and had born Offices under four Emperors, wisely preserving himself from the Snares of those Tyrants, tho' not wholly from their Vices: and he was the first who receiv'd the Empire from the Hands of the Soldiers, the Senate consenting; having himself no Affinity or Alliance with the Family of the *Cæsars*, either by Blood or Adoption. Shortly after his being declar'd Emperor by his Army, he found himself involv'd in many Troubles and Afflictions, and all his Hopes and Designs were near being blasted by an unexpected Disorder among some of his Men; for, upon his approach to the Camp, one of the Wings of his Horse repenting of the new Oath they had taken, endeavour'd as much as possible to desert him, and he found it no small difficulty to keep 'em to their Duty. He likewise with great Hazard escap'd the Conspiracy of

of several Slaves, who were purposely presented to him by one of Nero's Enfranchis'd Men, and had undoubtedly Slain him as he pass'd through a narrow Street to go to his Baths, had they not discover'd themselves by too loudly exhorting one another, *Not to omit so fair an Opportunity.* But that which gave Galba the greatest Fear and Disquiet at this time was the unexpected Death of *Vindex* in *Gaul*, who kill'd himself after the entire Defeat of his Troops by *Rufus Virginius*, Commander of the *German* Legions; which Battel was fought through the Ignorance and Mistakes of the Soldiers, and against the Wills and Designs of the Generals. The News of this, added to Galba's other Misfortunes, reduc'd him almost to Despair both of his Life and Empire, and had once a design of destroying himself; but timely Advice coming from *Rome*, assuring him that *Nero* was dead, and all People had sworn Allegiance to him there, he immediately laid aside the Name of *Lieutenant of the Empire*, and assum'd the Title of *Cæsar*. After which he put himself upon his Way to *Rome*, in his Imperial Habit, with a Dagger about his Neck, and hanging down before his Breast; neither wou'd he appear in a Robe or Gown, till all such as were contriving new Disturbances were defeated and cut off; as namely, *Nymphidius Sabinus*, Captain of the Guards at *Rome*; *Fonteius Capito*, Lieutenant in *Germany*; and *Cloelius Macer* in *Africk*. In his Journey towards *Rome*, *Rufus Virginius*, before-mention'd, sent to yield him his Obedience; who till then had shewn himself wholly neutral, in respect of any particular Person, attending the Will and Determination of the Senate.

As

As this Emperor approach'd *Rome*, as it usually happens when Matters are concluded with halt and Precipitation, the People began to shew less Satisfaction for his Arrival, than they did for his Election ; for several Rumours were spread abroad both of his Cruelty and Avarice, by reason of the unusual Rigour he had exercis'd towards such Cities of *Spain* and *Gaul*, which had scrupled to joyn with him at first, by oppressing them with excessive Tributes, demolishing their Fortifications, and executing their Governours, not excusing even their Wives and Children. Which Reports so highly disadvantageous to an old Man and a young Prince, were confirm'd and augmented, at his Entrance into *Rome*, by his Severity to those Sea-Men and Mariners whom *Nero* had taken from the Oar, and listed among his Legionary Soldiers : For endeavouring to reduce these Numerous Troops to their former Condition, upon their refusing with great Contumacy to submit to an Order so injurious to themselves, and their insolent demanding an Eagle and Military Ensigns, he Commanded his Horse-Men to ride in among 'em, who kill'd 7000 ; and not being satisfi'd with this Punishment, he caus'd 'em to be decimated afterwards. Besides which, he discharg'd the *German* Cohort, which had been establish'd by the former Emperors, for a Guard to their Persons, and had given manifest Testimonies of their Allegiance and Fidelity to their Princes ; yet notwithstanding he sent 'em to their own Country without any Reward, pretending they were better affected to *Dolabella* than himself, because they had encamp'd themselves not far from his Gardens. Being in *Rome*, with this secret Discontentment, tho' with publick Joy and Solemnity, he began to take upon him the Administration

and Government of the Empire, and did some Acts as a wise and worthy Prince; yet these were generally less acceptable, than some others were odious. He took care to restore all Persons unjustly exil'd by *Nero*, as well of the Nobility as meaner sort, to their Country and Honours, tho' not to their Wealth and Estates. On the contrary he represented a most grateful Spectacle to the People, which was *Elius*, *Polycletus*, *Locusta*, *Patrobins*; *Petinus*, and others in Fetters, drawn through the City and publicly executed, as Instruments and Ministers of *Nero's* Cruelties; tho' he spar'd some of the most notorious Offenders for the sake of Money. And he was so remarkable for his Avarice; that it is said that he wou'd sigh and weep when his Table was better furnish'd than ordinary; a Vice tho' incident to his Age, yet dangerous to his Circumstances, especially in respect of his Soldiers, and was the first Thing which made way for his Ruin. When a large Donative had been promis'd to the Soldiers by such as were appointed to tender 'em their Oath in his Absence, he utterly refus'd to confirm it, declaring *that he chose, but never wou'd purchase his Soldiers*; which much exasperated his Men, who in these corrupt Times cou'd not bear with any rigorous Discipline like the ancient *Romans*, especially from a Prince who suffer'd himself to be bought and sold every Hour. Moreover he highly provok'd the *Prætorians*, by cashiering several of 'em shortly after, upon a bare Suspicion of Correspondence and Confederacy with *Nymphidius*.

But that which made this Emperor most generally hated and abhorr'd, was his suffering himself to be intirely manag'd by three Favourites, who having their Lodgings with him in his Palace,

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and

and being always in his Presence, were commonly styl'd his *Pædagogues*: One was *T. Vinus* his Lieutenant in *Spain*, a Man of insatiable Covetousness; another was *C. Laco*, now Captain of his Guards, one who had render'd himself insupportable by his Pride and Arrogance; and the third *Icelus* a Freed-Man, who now aspir'd to the highest Command in the *Equestrian* Order. These three, whose Humours and Vices were as different as possible, abus'd the Authority of the Emperor with so much Insolence, that they made him appear by the Inequality of his Conduct, both odious and despicable; so that sometimes he shew'd himself severe and rigorous, at other times remiss and negligent, condemning some illustrious Persons unheard, and pardoning others without Reason, as he was guided by these Persons. He still increas'd the People's Hatred, by revoking the profuse Donatives of *Nero*, which were found to amount to above seventeen Millions of our Money, and reducing 'em to the tenth Part, giving Commission to fifty of the *Equites*, to collect the Remainder for himself; with Authority, That if any Player or Champion had sold what *Nero* had given 'em, and imbezel'd or spent the Consideration they receiv'd, in that Case they might require and recover it of the Persons who had purchas'd it. On the Contrary, there was nothing, but by the Mediation of his Favourites and Freed-Men, he permitted either to be bought for Money, or granted for Favour; as Taxes, Exemptions, Punishments for Innocents, Impunity for Criminals, and other Pieces of Injustice. Among others he pardon'd *Halotus* and *Tigellinus*, two of the most pernicious Instruments which *Nero* employ'd, tho' the People of *Rome* were importunately Sollicitous for their Punishment. And

as if this was not sufficient to disoblige them, he preferr'd *Halotus* to a most honourable Post; and appear'd so publickly in the Justification of *Tigellinus*, that he put forth an Edict in his Favour, and upbraided the People with their Severity. Besides all which disadvantageous Circumstances, his unweildly old Age render'd him contemptible to many, so that almost every Man durst presume to Murmur at his Proceedings, and act any Thing against his Authority.

Affairs being in this unsetled Posture at *Rome*, those in the Provinces were in a worse Condition: For since the Army and Province of *Spain* had presum'd to chuse an Emperor without any other Authority, many Mutinies were rais'd, and Factions sprung up in most Parts of the Empire, through Envy, Discontent or Desire of Alteration, but principally among the Legions in the upper *Germany*, whose Commander was *Rufus Virginius* before mention'd. These Legions growing proud and insolent, by reason of the great Victory they had obtain'd over *Vindex* in *Gaul*, shew'd small Value or Esteem for *Ordeonius Flaccus*, their present Commander, and Lieutenant to *Virginius*; and holding themselves suspected, and out of Favour with the Emperor *Galba*, because they were the last who came in to his Service, they now resolv'd to be the first who shou'd desert it. And upon the first Day of *January*, wherein they usually took the Oaths, & paid their Homage of Fidelity to their Emperour, they refus'd to swear to any but the Senate; immediately dispatch'd a Message to the *Prætorian* Cohorts to remonstrate, That they cou'd not quiesce in the Election of an Emperor created in *Spain*, and that the Senate wou'd proceed to chuse such a Person as they thought most proper: Yet *Suetonius*

tells us, that they referr'd the Election to the *Prætorian* Cohorts. The Legions in lower *Germany* were also as mutinous and discontented, as those in the upper, being particularly excited and encourag'd by their Commander *Vitellius*, who notwithstanding he had receiv'd all his present Authority from the Hands of the Emperor *Galba*, began to sound the Minds and Affections of his Soldiers, and violating his Faith and Fidelity, endeavour'd by all possible Methods to procure the Empire for himself. This *Vitellius*, who afterwards became Emperor, was a Person of great Reputation and Authority, by reason of the several Offices and Magistracies which he had held in *Rome* and abroad, under the three Emperors *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero*, with all which he had been very intimate and private, more for his excessive Vices, and some particular Abilities of his Person, than for any Vertues or Excellencies. He was in favour with *Caligula*, for his Dexterity in managing a Chariot, with *Claudius* for his Gaming and Dice, and with *Nero* for the same Proficiency, and such like Qualities. And besides this, as he was very Subtle and Crafty in his Designs, so he obtained in those Days great Offices and Dignities; as that of *Præfect*, of the Priesthood, and also to be Proconsul in *Africk*, which Office he honourably executed; and last of all to be Commander of the Legions in *Low-Germany*, the effects of which shall be afterwards related.

The Emperor *Galba* being advertis'd of all the commotions in *Germany*, and knowing that besides his Age, he was the less respected for want of an Heir, he resolv'd now to put in Execution what he had formerly design'd, which was to adopt some Person of such Age and Authority,

as might be deservedly capable of the Empire, and who in his Life might protect and support him, and after his Decease succeed him. His Favourites and such as were intimate with him, understanding his Determination, each of 'em separately pretended to give him a Son of their own chusing, so that there arose a great Contention among 'em upon this Occasion. *Otho* made great Interest, and industriously endeavour'd to obtain this Adoption, alledging the great Service he had done for *Galba*, as being the first Man of Note who came in to his Assistance in Spain, after he had declared against *Nero*; and as the Urban and Prætorian Cohorts favour'd him, and *Vinius* the Emperor's chief Favourite assisted him, he almost assur'd himself of Success. But *Galba* having fully resolv'd to consider the Publick Good alone, and disliking the vicious Disposition of *Otho*, which he thought too nearly resembled that of *Nero*, had no Regard to what was spoken in his favour; but upon a prefixt Day he sent for *Piso Lucinianus*, in whom was a happy Concurrence of those good Properties necessary for a Prince and Emperor, and taking him by the Hand, in the Presence of some Friends, among other things he said thus: *If this vast Body of the Roman Empire cou'd subsist without a single Governour to balance it, the Liberty of the Common-Wealth might worthily have dated its Beginning from me; but now it is arriv'd to that State, that my Age can benefit the People of Rome no Way, but by finding them a good Successor, nor your Youth, but by yielding them a good Prince. To succeed by Election will be in stead of Liberty; and now the Julian and Claudian Lines have fail'd, Adoption will supply all Defects: For to be descended from Princes, is a Matter of mere Fortune, and is so esteem'd; in Adoptions our Judgments are most incorrupt, and most*

rarely abus'd; and if we will chuse the most worthy, the Voice of the Nation points us out the Man. I have pass'd by all my own Friends and Companions in Arms, for your sake, not doubting but you will retain your former Vertues; but as to those of Others towards you, you will find a Difference; and Flattery, the most pestilent Poyson of all true Meaning, will break in: For since most Men talk with our Estates rather than our Persons, it is much easier to flatter a Prince, than to instruct him. For your Administration, set Nero before your Eyes, whose own Infamous Life and Cruelties alone, push'd him out of his Throne, and not Vindex with an unarm'd Province, nor I with a single Legion; and tho' the Soldiers and Senate had not so universally agreed about a Successor, they were all unanimous in his Ruin. The surest and shortest Rule for your Security, is judiciously to weigh what you your self wou'd allow or blame in another Prince: For you have not here, as in some Kingdoms, a certain Race born to Sovereignty, and the rest to be Slaves; but you are to govern a People which can neither bear Bondage nor Liberty alone, but require a prudent Mixture of both to balance the Inconveniencies of either. Upon finishing this Speech, Galba with a great Train went with Piso to the Camp, where he adopted him after the usual Manner, obliging the Soldiers to swear Obedience to him, and receive him for Cæsar; but gave no Rewards to the Soldiers, nor promis'd any, as they expected: He only made a grave and short Speech to 'em after the ancient Manner, and was coldly receiv'd by 'em, as he was likewise by the Senate immediately after; Rome being now so addicted to Briberies and Donatives, had lost its ancient Equity and Integrity.

Piso adopted
by Galba.

Galba having made this Adoption, conceiv'd it wou'd have been the most effectual Means, to
secure

secure his Life and Empire; but it shortly after prov'd the Occasion of his Confusion and utter Ruin. For *Otho*, finding the Hopes of his Adoption wholly frustrated, and perceiving the Soldiers well affected towards him, for the extream Hatred they had conceiv'd against *Galba*, resolv'd to effect his Purposes by Force and Treason, to which he was excited, not only by his Hatred to *Galba*, and his Envy to *Piso*; but by the Consideration of his Debts, which were now become insupportable from his riotous Life. Nor was he ashamed to declare, *That if he was not Emperor he could not Subsist, and that it was equal to him whether he fell by his Enemy in the Field, or by his Creditors in the Courts of Law*: Notwithstanding he with some Difficulty found Ready Money sufficient to corrupt the *Prætorian Cohorts*; and where that was deficient, he supply'd all with large Promises, and plausible Speeches. And in less than eight Days, finding the Affections of the Soldiers, he stole secretly from the Emperor while he was Sacrificing to an appointed place, where calling the Soldiers together in a set Speech, he began to enumerate the several Cruelties and Executions made by *Galba* in so short a Space, urging, *That those things which others account heinous Crimes, are by him term'd gentle Remedies; Cruelty is cloak'd with the venerable Name of Justice; sordid Avarice is call'd provident Sparing; and your Stripes and Indignities, true Discipline*. 'Tis scarce seven Months since the Death of *Nero*, yet *Icelus*, one of *Galba's* Favourites, has rak'd together more Treasure than any of *Nero's* Wicked Instruments had done in as many Years. And certainly *Vinius* himself, if he had been Emperor, would have shewn less Covetousness and more Respect; even that *Vinius* who oppresses us as Vassals, and treats us as vile Strangers, whose Wealth alone

wou'd be sufficient for the Donative, which is so often cast in your Teeth, but never paid to your Purfes. In you alone lies the present Remedy for all these Distempers; and since you, my loving Companions, have already given me the Title of Prince, I will not be call'd a Private Man; and a Prince I cannot be, while another possesses the Throne. I desire you not to a War, I lead you not to any dangerous Exploit; the Soldiers within are all of the same Mind, and that one unarm'd Cohort now guarding the Emperor, endeavours not to defend him against us, but rather detains him from escaping your Hands; and when you shall come in view, the greatest Contention you can have with them, is, who shou'd be most forward in my Assistance. At the finishing of this Speech, the Soldiers with loud Shouts and Acclamations took him upon their Shoulders, call'd him Emperor; and drawing their Swords, to give the greater Terrour to the People, carry'd him to their Camp.

Galba in the mean time suspected nothing of this Revolt, and when the News of it was brought to him, he was extremely disheartned and confounded; and as his Counsels were sudden and unpremeditated, so they were unconstant and variable. For some were of opinion that he ought to put himself in Arms, and appear in Publick, that his Presence might stem the Torrent of this dangerous Tumult: Others, that his greatest Security wou'd be to fortifie himself in the Capitol, and there to attend the Result of the whole Disorder. The poor old Emperor continu'd wavering and doubtful what Resolution to take, upon the account of the various Messages and Reports which were brought; for some represented the Matter as slight and inconsiderable, and others as fatal and ruinous. But at last being deluded by a false Report of Otha's being slain, he

he rode arm'd out of his Palace with his Guard, and many Followers, into the Grand *Forum*; where infinite Numbers of People were gather'd together to see the Effects of so furious a Combustion. At the same Instant, on the other Side, there enter'd a considerable Body of Horſe, ſent from the Camp to deſtroy *Galba*; who tho' they came with a full Reſolution of diſpatching him, yet upon their nigh Approach to him, ſtood amaz'd, and in a dubious Poſture, for a conſiderable Time, apprehending the Conſequence of their fatal Commiſſion. At the ſame time *Galba* was in the greateſt Confuſion imaginable, not knowing upon what to reſolve, nor what Enterprize to undertake; the Crowds and Throngs of People driving him to and fro, with Amazement in their Countenances, and ſuch a Silence as argu'd great Fear and great Anger. *Galba* thus ſtanding irrefolute whether he ſhou'd return to his Palace, or retire to the *Capitol*, having had ſufficient Time for either; but now miſſing his Opportunity, he found himſelf unable to do any Thing for his Security: For being abandon'd by the greateſt Part of his Followers, the Soldiers ſent by *Otho* immediately ruſh'd in among the People and Senate, diſperſing and trampling them under Foot; and approaching *Galba*, he ſtretch'd out his Neck, as *Plutarch* relates it, bidding them *Strike it off, if it were for the Good of the Common-wealth and the Roman People*; which was immediately perform'd, and his Head ſet on the Point of a Lance, and preſented to *Otho*, from whence it was contemptuously carried about the Camp, his Body remaining in the Streets till it was buried by one of his Bond-men. This was the fatal End of *Sergius Galba*, the Seventh Emperor of *Rome*, in the ſeventy third Year of his Age, after a ſhort Reign of

*Galba ſlain in
the Forum,*

Seven

Seven Months; a Person who had gain'd the Empire unjustly, govern'd it injuriously, and lost it suddenly. His Death was accompanied with the Slaughter of many other Persons, particularly of his three Favourites who had ruin'd him, *Vinius*, *Laco*, and *Icelus*; and likewise with that of his adopted Son *Piso*, whose Death *Otho* most of all desir'd, and whose Head he gaz'd on with a Joy and Satisfaction most unbecoming his assumed Character.

A. D. 69.

II. On the same Day that *Galba* was thus murder'd in the *Forum*, the Senate and People, now but the Dregs of their Ancestors, ran all by Heaps and Multitudes to the Camp, contending and pressing who shou'd be most forward, effacing the Memory of *Galba*, extolling the Judgment of the Soldiers, and with great Flattery kissing the Hand of *Otho*; and the less their Hearts and Affections were towards him, so much the more were their Gestures and outward Protestations. *Otho* was now Thirty eight Years of Age, a Person Valiant and Witty, of an ancient and honourable Family, and a great Favourite to *Nero*; but more for the Conformity of their Humours and Vices, and the Beauty of his Wife *Poppæa*, than for his worthy Executing of some considerable Offices with which he was entrusted. *Otho* now finding himself thus highly congratulated, and surrounded by Senators and the Principal Nobility of *Rome*, immediately went to the Senate, which was assembled by the *Prætorian Præfect* of the City, where besides the ordinary Salutations and Applauses, they gave him the Title of *Augustus*, and all the other Titles and Preheminences which the other Emperors ever obtain'd. And having there made a brief Oration, wherein he told the Fathers, That he took

Otho made
Emperor.

upon

upon him the Empire rather by Compulsion and the Constraint of others, than by his own Choice and Seeking, promising to govern the same by the Counsel and Advice of the Senate; he went from thence through the Forum, which was all cover'd with Blood and dead Bodies, to the Capitol, and from thence to the Imperial Palace: And thus was *Otho* the first Emperor who was advanc'd to this Honour by Means of the *Prætorian* Guards, which gave 'em Occasion frequently to assume the Authority of Creating Emperors afterwards; a pernicious Precedent for the *Roman* Empire, and for the Emperors themselves, as Time and Experience manifested. *Otho*, contrary to the Expectation of many, deferr'd his Pleasures, dissembl'd his Riot, and order'd all Things as was fitting for the Honour of the Empire. And first he commanded *Marius Celsus*, who had been highly advanc'd by *Galba*, to be brought into the Capitol; expecting by pardoning so Noble a Man, and so odious to his Party, to purchase the just Title of Clemency in the beginning of his Reign. *Celsus* being call'd, fearlessly confess'd the whole Accusation of Fidelity to *Galba*, affirming, That Princes ought rather to reward such Examples; and *Otho* admitting the Defence as just and vertuous, immediately advanc'd him next to himself. This Act, with the just Punishment of *Tigellinus*, *Nero's* chief Instrument of Impurity, and his generous Restoration of the Persons and Goods of all such as had been unjustly exil'd by *Nero*, gain'd him so much the Love and Affection of the People of *Rome*, that they continu'd true and faithful to him to the End of his short Reign.

While the Affairs in *Rome* were transacted in this Manner, the Legions in the Lower Germany, having been purchas'd by the large Gifts and specious

Vitellius
made Emperor
by the Ger-
man Legions.

cious Promises of *Vitellius*, after some Treaties and Impunities for Outrages, concluded to create him Emperor, which they effected; without attending the Will and Pleasure of the Senate, about thirteen Days before *Galba's* Death. The sudden News of which put *Otho* into a great Consternation, and the City to no small Concern, well knowing that nothing but the Sword, and the Blood of so many Romans, cou'd determine this famous Contest, the Pretensions being plausible on both Sides. The German Legions pretended, *That they had as great an Authority to create an Emperor as the Legions in Spain, and that Vitellius had a rightful Possession before Otho's Creation*; the Senate and Cohorts at Rome pretended, *That they had the Supreme Power, and that in them rested the absolute Authority to chuse and create Emperors; and having made choice of Otho, they wou'd not recede.* And tho' *Otho* by this Means had the most powerful Interest, and the most specious Title; yet whether his guilty Conscience threw him into timorous Apprehensions, or his discompos'd Temper caus'd him to dread the Miseries of a Civil War, he sought by large Promises to come to a Composition and Agreement with *Vitellius*; but nothing was concluded to the Satisfaction of either Party, and the Diffensions daily increasing, both began their Preparations for War. It was suppos'd by many, that several Persons from *Vitellius* were come to the City to spy out and learn how the Parties were affected; whereupon the whole City was fill'd with Jealousies and Apprehensions, the secret Closets being scarce free from Fears. All Persons turn'd and shap'd their Countenances according as the News was favourable or formidable from abroad; and in the Senate nothing was so difficult as an even and prudent Carriage

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in these nice and perillous Times; Silence would be reckoned for Contumacy, Freedom of Speech for Insolence, and Flattery was too well known to *Otho*, who but lately had been so skillful in the Practice of it himself. The cares of the City were much augmented by the great Preparations of *Otho*, and the Disabilities of the Nobility and Gentry in matters of War: The chief of the Senate were grown old and impotent, wanting both the Power and Vigour of Soldiers; the Nobility were sloathful, cover'd with the Rust of a long Peace, and forgetting the Fatigues of a Camp; the *Equites* were dissolv'd in Ease and Luxury, and ignorant in military Service, which the more they endeavour'd to conceal, the more they betray'd their Fears. The wiser sort began to shew great concern at the Miseries and Perturbations of the Common-wealth, but the inconsiderate were swell'd with vain Hopes and extravagant Opinions; and many Persons, Bankrupts in Peace, in these Troubles began to make the greatest Appearance; they being safest, when the State was in the greatest Danger, and Disorder.

During the time of these preparations, *Otho* received advice that *Vitellius's* Forces were upon their March towards *Italy*, under the conduct of two Commanders called *Valens* and *Cæcinna*; whereupon *Otho* departed from *Rome* with a fair Army, consisting of the *Roman* Nobility, the *Prætorian* Cohorts, the Legions out of the Fleets upon the *Italian* Coast, and such others as he could levy in that time. In this manner he began his March from the City, very powerful as to numbers of Men, tho' generally unaccustomed to War, leaving for the Government of *Rome*, *Flavius Sabinus*, Brother to *Vespasian*, who was then in *Judea* and had

had sworn his Army to *Otho*, and so continued his March against *Vitellius*, whose Forces were already arrived at the *Alpes*, to the number of 70000 Men, whereof 40000 were commanded by *Valens*, and the rest by *Cæcinna*, *Vitellius* himself remaining in *Gaul*, in expectation of more Troops from *Germany*, and the Legions from *Britain*. Upon the nigh approach of these numerous Armies this fatal Civil War was begun, or rather that begun by *Vindex* and *Galba* against *Nero* was continued; which occasioned many to make melancholy Reflections upon the Wars between *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and between *Augustus* and *Anthony*, wherein so much Roman Blood was shed; from which fatal Miseries the State had been free for almost an Hundred years, tho' not from those of Tyranny and unbounded Ambition, the General and almost certain fore-runners of the other. *Otho* of late had been much troubled with unusual Dreams and dismal Apprehensions, and 'tis reported that one Night fetching several profound Sighs in his Sleep, his Servants ran hastily to his Bed-side, and found him upon the Ground; after which he used many Expiations to appease the Ghost of *Galba*, which seemed to beat and push him rudely out of the Bed. However, he proceeded with great shew of Courage, and arriving at the City of *Brixellum* on the River *Po*, he remain'd there, sending his Forces before him, under the conduct of worthy Commanders, particularly *Suetonius* and *Celsus*; who were very little respected by the Souldiers, being grown proud and insolent with the Thoughts of creating an Emperor, imagining that no Man less than he ought to have Command over them. The like want of Obedience was in the Armies of *Vitellius*, and upon the same account; and both Parties proceeded with such Hast and Precipitation,

tion, that besides Skirmishes and other Encounters, in a few Days Space, three considerable Battels were fought; one nigh *Placentia*, another nigh *Cremona*, and a third nigh a place called *Castor*; in all which *Otho* and the *Romans* had the advantage, tho' the Word on both sides was, *Rome and the Empire!*

Shortly after this, *Valens* and *Cæcinna*, who till now had acted separately, joyned all their Forces together, strongly re-enforcing their Army with new Supplies from several Parts; now resolving to hazard all in one general Battel, if the other Party refused them not. About which time, *Otho*, very joyful for the Advantages gain'd by his Generals, came to his Army at *Bebriacum*, a Village between *Cremona* and *Verona*; and finding the Enemy, notwithstanding their late Losses, very forward to give him Battel, call'd a Council of War to determine whether to protract the War, or hazard a Battel. *Suetonius*, *Celsus*, and the most experienc'd Commanders declared, *That it was their Opinion, That protracting the War was much the wisest and safest course, since the whole Force and Power of Vitellius were arrived, and were now in want of many Necessaries, which obliged them to offer Battel as their speediest way of supplying themselves: On the contrary, Otho's Army was well provided of all things, and Italy and the Senate and People of Rome at his Devotion, who were never quite darkn'd, tho' sometimes overshadow'd. Moreover several Provinces had revolted from Vitellius whereas all his Provinces stood firm to him; and the Legions in Pannonia, Moesia and Dalmatia, were now upon their March to his Aid: So that he had no Reason so often and so rashly to tempt his Fortune, and therefore he ought to weary out his Enemy by Delays, or stay for a greater Power, where there could be no doubt of Victory. But* some others, whose unexperienced Heat and mis-guided

guided Vigour made them too desirous of a Battel, declared, *That nothing but that could end the Miseries of the State, protesting that Fortune and all the Gods, with the God-head of Otho, favoured the Design, and would undoubtedly prosper the Enterprize*; descending to this gross and extravagant Flattery, to prevent others from crossing their Opinion. *Otho* inclined wholly to the latter, approved of their Counsel, and commanded the same to be put in Execution; for he was so extreamly uneasie under this War, that he thought it a less Punishment to lose a Victory, than to be continually rack'd with Fears and Suspences. After which it was agreed, *That the Emperor should not personally be in the Battel, so that being free from the doubtful Events of the Field, he might reserve himself for the main Fortune of the State*; and he retiring to *Brixellum*, his Army advanced towards the Enemy, who lay encamp'd not far distant. *Otho's* Souldiers were generally Men of noble Presence, strong and valiant, but had but small Experience in the War; on the contrary those of *Vitellius* were not only more numerous, but were old Disciplin'd Men, and train'd up in Arms from their Youth. Yet the *Othonians*, tho' they were at first deceived, and almost confounded with a false shew of accommodation from their Enemies, attack'd them with great Courage and Bravery, and at the first On-set Slew all the first Rank, and won the *Eagle*, the Battel continuing cruel and bloody on both sides. The Armies were extreamly incumber'd with Trees and Hedges, so that they were obliged to Fight with but small Regularity, bearing down upon one another, Body to Body, Buckler to Buckler, with their Swords and Axes, after a dreadful manner, each Man furiously contending, as if the Event of the whole War depended upon his Valour.

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At length the *Vitellianists*, both by their numbers and skill gained upon the Flank of their Enemies, and the *Prætorian Cohorts* immediately betook themselves to Flight; which shortly after caused the intire Defeat of the *Othonians*, who fled toward *Bebriacum* with great confusion, and a miserable slaughter made by the Enemy, who thought it no advantage to take many Prisoners.

Otho's Army
overthrown.

In the mean time *Otho* or *Brixellum* waited for the News of the Battel with great Impatience; and one of the first who brought him an Account of it was a Common Souldier, who being tax'd with Falshood and Cowardice by some Persons about the Emperor, he immediately fell upon his Sword at *Otho's* Feet; at the sight of which he cried out, *That he would cause the Ruin of no more of such valiant and worthy Souldiers!* the Souldiers ardent Affection was such, that they stay'd not for any Comfort or Encouragement from their Emperor, but gathering all about him, endeavoured to animate and revive his Courage, telling him, *That there were still Forces sufficient both for his Revenge and Security, and they would suffer all imaginable Perils and Extremities for his sake.* They who stood at a great distance lift up their Hands and besought him; the nearest embraced his Knees, especially *Plotius Firmus* the *Prætorian Præfect*, beseeching him Not to abandon so true and deserving Souldiers, so loving and faithful an Army; averring, *That it was a greater Instance of Magnanimity to sustain, than to avoid the heavy shock of Fortune; that brave and valiant Men support themselves by Hope against Fortune; while cowardly and impotent Spirits by Fear, are suddenly driven to Despair.* But all their Perswasions and Intreaties, nor all the apparent Probability of Success, if he would continue the War, could in the least divert him from that Resolution he had

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now taken, a Resolution so generous in its Nature, that some Authors think it rather the Effect of some sudden Inspiration, than of any thing that could proceed from a Temper so soft, and a Life so effeminate as his. Having made Silence, he courageously spoke to them after this Manner: *I esteem this Day as far more happy and glorious than that wherein you made me Emperor, since it has manifested such sensible Tokens of your Love and Affection, and such incontestable Proofs of your Duty and Loyalty: therefore I beseech you not to deny me this Favour, which is, to suffer me to die justly and honourably for the safety of so many brave Souldiers and worthy Citizens as you are. There can be no occasion for those Legions and Forces coming to my Assistance, since the Enemy is neither Hannibal nor Pyrrhus; therefore to hazard your Virtue and Valour in Dangers wholly needless, is too dear a Purchase of Life; and the greater Hopes you have of Success, the more honourable will be my Death, as being voluntary and not by any Constraint. Assure yourselves I had rather die than Reign Emperor, since I can never so much advance the Roman State by Wars and Blood-shed, as by sacrificing my self for the Peace of it; and whereas others have purchased Fame and Glory by their well governing and supporting the Empire, I may reasonably expect a Name for leaving it, rather than to permit my Ambition to weaken or destroy it. And therefore I desire that you wou'd take this as an undoubted Proof of my Courage and Resolution, that I make no Complaints of hard Fortune or ill Success; for to blame either Gods or Men, implies a mean and indirect desire of Living.*

After this Speech, in a courteous Manner he desired the old Men, and requir'd the young to yield themselves to Vitellius as soon as possible, lest by Delays they provok'd his further Displeasure. Then rebuking the unreasonable Fears of those about him,

him, without any Alteration in his Countenance, or signs of Fear in his Speech, he retir'd to his Chamber; where he burnt such Letters and Papers as might be prejudicial to any Person afterwards, and distributed what Money and Jewels he had among his Friends and Domesticks. Being prepar'd in this manner, and resolv'd to die, a Tumult arising, he perceiv'd the Soldiers stopping and upbraiding those who were going away, as Traytors and Deserters of their Sovereign, *Nay then*, said he, *let us add this Night to our Life*, and forbid all Violence to be us'd, commanding his Chamber to be left open till it was very late, and ordering a free Entrance to all who desir'd to see him. After which, the Doors being secur'd, he took two Daggers, and having try'd and chosen the sharpest, he laid it under his Pillow, and fell into a profound Sleep; but awaking about Break of Day, and seeing one of his Servants remaining, he commanded his Absence, and taking the Dagger, gave himself a Mortal Stab on the left Side, and with a single Groan ended his Life. This was the remarkable End of *Otho* the Eighth Emperor of *Rome*, but three Months and five Days after he had Traiterously murder'd his Prince, and Usurp'd the Empire; a Person, as *Tacitus* writes, who by two Acts, one the most detestable, and the other the most commendable, equally deserved Infamy and Renown among Posterity. Most of his Soldiers, who were present about him, after they had kiss'd his Hands and his Feet, and given him the Character of a most Courageous and Magnanimous Emperor, kill'd themselves about his Funeral Pile; and many who were absent, understanding the manner of his Death, were so deeply and sensibly affected, that they slew one another. Finally, many who while he

Otho kills himself.

was Living detested and abhorr'd him, now as much applauded and extoll'd him; and it was a common Opinion and Discourse among the People, *That he depos'd Galba, not so much out of Ambition, as to restore the Liberty of the Common-wealth.* However, his great Care for the Good of the Publick, had gain'd him the Affection of the Senate and People of Rome, notwithstanding all his Personal Vices; which may serve for one Instance to manifest the great Facility of any Prince's gaining the Hearts of his Subjects.

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III. Shortly after the Death of *Otho*, all the Soldiers, both Legionary and *Prætorian*, repair'd to the Lodgings of *Virgilius*, Commander of the German Legions, earnestly begging him, *To take upon him the Name of Emperor, offering him their utmost Service and Assistance; and if he thought fit not to accept of their Empire, that he wou'd please to be their Ambassador to Valens and Cæcinnæ, in order to obtain their Pardons.* *Virgilius* alledg'd, *That it wou'd be a high piece of Indiscretion, as well as Presumption, to accept of the Empire from the Hands of a vanquish'd Army, having refus'd the same of the German Legions before Nero's Death, at a time when his Success wou'd have been almost unquestionable; but finding the Soldiers eager and tumultuous, he gave 'em some Hopes of being their Ambassador and Mediator, till he had retir'd into his Lodging, from whence he suddenly withdrew to a private Place, till their Fury had spent it self.* But *Rubrius Gallus*, a Person of considerable Note, immediately undertook the Embassy to *Vitellius's* Captains, where Peace and Pardon was obtain'd for all the Soldiers and Commanders Overthrown at *Bedriacum*, as also for all those Senators which had accompany'd *Otho*, and were now at *Mutina*. And

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at *Rome*, as soon as the Death of *Otho* was publish'd there, *Flavius Sabinus*, Præfect of the City, Assembl'd the Senators, who tho' they hated *Vitellius*, immediately pronounc'd him Emperor with the usual Solemnities, giving him the Title of *Augustus*, and *Pater Patriæ*, with other honourable Epithets, resolving to return great Thanks both to him and his Army for what they had done. *Vitellius* was then in *Gaul*, and that he might do some memorable Act of Justice before he went to *Rome*, he caus'd all the *Prætorian* Cohorts, who had been Instruments in *Galba's* Death and *Otho's* Advancement, to be disarm'd and depriv'd of the Name and Honour of Soldiers, Commanding also 120 of the most Guilty to be put to Death, which he discover'd by their demanding of a Reward for killing of *Galba*. By which honourable Act he gave great hopes of an excellent Prince; but he immediately let loose the Reins of his former Vices and Extravagancies, insomuch that he deserv'd to be rank'd among the worst of Princes, and the worst of Men. As soon as he began his Journey for *Rome*, he rode through the Cities and Towns with all imaginable Pomp and Pride. He stirr'd not upon the Rivers, but in his painted Gallies, curiously adorn'd with Garlands of Flowers, and profusely furnish'd with the most exquisite Delicacies and Provocatives to Gluttony; and in all his Journey there was no Order or Discipline either among his Soldiers or Servants, he himself being highly pleas'd with their continual Rapines and Insolencies, how insupportable soever. For they were not satisfy'd with devouring all Places with Free-Quarters, but they Enfranchis'd Slaves, Beat, Wounded, and Ravish'd at their Pleasure. Upon his Arrival at *Bebriacum*, where the last Battel

*Vitellius
made Emperor.*

was fought, he was very desirous of seeing the Place, where were great numbers of scatter'd Bodies torn in Pieces, Limbs dismally mangled, Figures of Horses and Men putrefy'd, and the Ground imbru'd with Corruption and Blood, all which he saw with infinite Pleasure and Satisfaction; and when several of his Train shew'd great uneasiness for the noisome Smells, he impiously told 'em, *That a dead Enemy smells well, but a dead Citizen better*: Yet immediately to correct and qualifie the nauseous Scents, he call'd for large quantities of Wine, and drinking publickly, he with the like Vanity distributed the rest among his Soldiers.

Vitellius being arriv'd at *Rome*, as in his Journey infinite Ravages and Outrages were committed by the various Nations which accompany'd him, so his Entry with such a numerous Army became a formidable sight to the City; for he enter'd it as into a conquer'd City, mounted upon a noble Courser, adorn'd with his Military Habilliments, the Senate and People of *Rome* going before him, as tho' he had triumph'd over 'em, himself surrounded with Standards and Colours, and his Army marching after him in a confus'd disorderly manner. In this ill Order he went up to the Capitol to Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, from whence he march'd to the Imperial Palace; and the next Day commanding the Senate to be Assembl'd, he made a glorious Speech, extravagantly magnifying and extolling his own Acts, promising extraordinary Advantages from his Administration and was humbly answer'd by them, obey'd and honour'd as Emperor, and their Sovereign Lord. Departing from the Senate towards the Palace, he was met with the Body of the Commons, who having been accusom'd to flatter all in

Authority, without considering Truth or Falshood, highly applauded and blest'd their new Emperor; and when he deny'd the Name of *Augustus*, they constrain'd him to accept of it; and he now took it with as much Vanity as he had before refus'd it. These first Solemnities being finish'd, he immediately after caus'd himself to be chosen *Pontifex Maximus*, and to be made perpetual Consul; and took upon him such Honours and Dignities as he thought good, commanding Magistrates to be chosen Ten Years before they enter'd upon their Offices; which Arbitrary Proceedings soon procur'd him the Hatred of the City. And thinking by his Industry to have prolong'd his Life, he banish'd from *Rome* and *Italy* all the Judicial Astrologers call'd Mathematicians, because they had said, *That his Reign shou'd not continue a Year compleat*; and he was so highly incens'd against 'em, That if Information were made against any one of that Profession, he immediately order'd him to be Executed, without hearing of the Party. Shortly after the publishing of his Edict for their Banishment by the first of *October*, a Writing was set up in the *Forum* to this effect: *We, in the Name of the ancient Chaldeans, give Warning to Vitellius Germanicus to depart the World by the Calends of the said October.* That it might appear to all what Example he design'd to follow in his Government, he publicly Sacrific'd to the *Manes* of *Nero*, in a general Assembly of the Priests in the *Campus Martius*: And at a solemn Feast, being much pleas'd with a Person playing upon the Harp, he commanded him to sing something in the Praise of *Domitius*; whereupon the Harper beginning one of *Nero's* Songs, he immediately leap'd up, and gave the first Tokens of Applause.

In this manner *Vitellius* began his Empire, wherein the principal Affairs of State were manag'd by the Counsel or Capricio of Players, Charioteers, and such contemptible Persons, among which *Asiaticus* his Freed-Man, and memorable for nothing but his Infamous Life, had a principal Place. He now abandon'd himself to such Luxury and Profuseness, to which he had been accustom'd in the Reigns of *Caligula* and *Nero*; especially to Gluttony, the abominable Excess whereof turn'd him to a very Monster: For he usually eat four or five Meals each Day, and the better to sustain that course of Life, he brought his Body to a Habit of Vomiting whenever he pleas'd. All his Meals were prodigiously expensive, tho' they were not always at his own Charge; for he frequently invited himself to his Friends, to a Breakfast in one Place, to a Dinner in another, to a Supper in a third, all in the same Day, and they generally entertain'd him after such a sumptuous manner, that each Treat seldom cost less than Ten Thousand Crowns. But the most memorable Supper made for him was by his Brother, at his first Arrival at *Rome*, in which were Two Thousand several Dishes of Fish, and Seven Thousand of Fowl serv'd up, the most valuable that cou'd be procur'd: Yet his own Profuseness exceeded all this at the Dedication of that Charger, which, by reason of its vast Capacity, he term'd *Minerva's Target*; in which was a rich *Olio* made of the Sounds of the Fish call'd *Scarri*, the Brains of *Pheasants* and *Peacocks*, the Tongues of a Bird call'd *Phaenicopterus*, and the Spawn of *Sea-Lampreys*, brought from the *Carpathian Sea* to the furthestmost Coasts of *Spain*. Nor was he more insatiable than unreasonable in his Gluttony, not being able to contain himself,

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during the time he was at Sacrifice, from plucking the Entrails, Corn and Meal, half roast and parch'd, out of the Fire, to devour 'em. *Tacitus* reports, that no Person in this Emperor's Court, sought to raise themselves by Vertue or Abilities, the only Way to Preferment, being by prophane Banquets and Sumptuous Treats made to the Emperor ; who considering nothing but the present Enjoyment of his Pleasures, in four Months time wasted above seven Millions of our Money, and ruin'd many Cities and Families ; so that *Josephus* tells us, that if he had reign'd long, the whole Empire wou'd not have been sufficient to have maintain'd his Gluttony.

During these Pleasures and afterwards, he executed barbarous Cruelties, such as demonstrated that *Nero* was his Example ; and he was so eagerly bent towards all Sanguinary Acts, that he punish'd all sorts of People with Death, and upon the smallest Occasions. There was no Fraud nor Hypocrisie which he left unpractis'd to destroy such Persons of Quality as had formerly been his Associates and School-Fellows ; caressing them at first, and giving them a Share in the Government, till he shortly found Pretences to ruin 'em. And going to visit one of 'em in a violent Fever, upon his desiring to drink, he mingled Poyson with cold Water, and deliver'd it to him with his own Hands. He seldom or never excus'd such Usurers, Scriveners or Publicans, as demanded Payment of his former Debts ; of which Number one coming to Salute him, he commanded him to be put to Death immediately ; but his Mind suddenly changing, he sent for him back : But as this Action was applauded by those about him, as a Signal Piece of Clemency, he caus'd him to be executed before his Face, declaring,
That

That he design'd only to feed his Eyes with the Spectacle. Having condemn'd another to Death, he executed his two Sons with him, only for their presuming to intercede for their Father. A Roman Knight likewise being hal'd away to his Punishment, and crying out to the Emperor, *that he had made him his Heir*; he caus'd him to produce his Will, and finding himself only Co-Heir with another Friend of the Testator's, to make the Inheritance fully secure, he commanded both to be executed. He likewise put several of the meaner sort to Death, only for deriding the Colours of some Charioteers whom he favour'd, supposing that they did it in Contempt of Him, and that they durst not have been so audacious, but upon the Hopes of a Revolution. He was suspected also to have been assisting in his Mother's Death, having commanded that no Meat shou'd be given her, under pretence it wou'd injure her by reason of her Sicknes; being induc'd to this by the Predictions of an old Woman, whom he believ'd as an Oracle, and who had told him, *That if he surviv'd his Mother, he shou'd Reign many Years in Happiness and Security.* These horrid Vices only seem'd to put him in Mind of his exalted State, for else so strange a Stupidity had seiz'd on him, that if others had not known him to be the Emperor, he himself wou'd have soon forgot it. He accounted all Bitter that was wholsom and beneficial, suffering nothing but what was pleasant and intoxicating; and fortifying himself with confus'd Mirth and Sottishness, against all Dangers and Exigencies, he lost the very Remembrance of Things past, and the thoughts of things to come; not the least mention of War was made before him, and the Rumour and Discourse of it was strictly forbidden in the City.

Vitellius

Vitellius having by his abominable Life made himself odious to the City, and by the daily Insolencies and Cruelties of his Soldiers insupportable to the Country; the Legions in the *East*, tho' in the Beginning of his Reign, they refus'd not his Authority, now began to revolt, and shortly after unanimously resolv'd to make *Vespasian* their Emperor. *Vespasian* had proceeded with great Bravery and Renown against the perfidious *Jews*, and had reduc'd most of their Country except *Jerusalem*, when he heard of the Death of *Nero*, and the Succession of *Galba*; which caus'd him to defer his design'd Enterprize against *Jerusalem*, sending his Son *Titus* to know *Galba's* Pleasure. *Titus* was so long stopp'd by contrary Winds, that upon his Arrival on the Coasts of *Achaia* in *Greece*, he understood of *Galba's* Death, and *Otho's* Advancement; which News caus'd him to return to his Father in *Judaea*. And during the civil Contests between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vespasian* continu'd Neuter, tho' he acknowledged *Otho* for Emperor, till *Vitellius* obtain'd the Victory and the Empire; a Matter no ways pleasing to him nor the Commanders in the *East*, all highly disliking so vicious a Man, and so corrupt a Governour as *Vitellius*: So that when the Day came wherein they were to swear Allegiance to the new Emperor, in the presence of *Vespasian*, they perform'd the Solemnity with great Silence and Heaviness. And now *Vespasian* renewing the War in *Judaea* with great Fame and Honour, and having resolv'd upon the Siege of *Jerusalem*; the Murmurs and Discontents increas'd against the new Emperor, not only in *Vespasian's* Army, but likewise in those of *Syria* and *Egypt*, as also in the other Legions of the *East*; insomuch that they all fixed their Eyes upon *Vespasian*, as a Person

son most Worthy of the highest Authority, and most able to put an End to the Miseries of his Country, resolving to create him Emperor against *Vitellius*. This Design was favour'd and promoted by the News they receiv'd, that the Legions in *Mæsia* and *Pannonia* had the same Resolution; for they being upon their March to *Otho's* Assistance, and understanding of his Defeat and Death, return'd back, refusing Obedience to *Vitellius*, whom they hated, declaring themselves shortly after for *Vespasian*. Upon these Motions there pass'd several Messages and Letters between *Alexander*, Governour of *Agypt*, and *Mutianus* Governour of *Syria*, a Person of great Renown both in War and Peace; who concluded that *Vespasian* shou'd be Emperor, tho' he utterly refus'd it. And this Matter being thus promoted, *Alexander* made the first Overture; and *Vespasian* was proclaim'd Emperor in his Absence at *Alexandria*, all the Army confirming it with extraordinary Applause, and paying their accustom'd Homage.

Vespasian
created Empe-
ror by the Ea-
stern Legions.

About eight Days after this, *Vespasian's* Army likewise proclaim'd him Emperor, and intreated him to accept of the Government, which he resolutely refus'd upon many Accounts; which occasion'd several secret Conferences between him and his Friends, to whom he urg'd the many Difficulties and Dangers that attended so great an Enterprize, particularly, That in all Civil Dissensions the Faith of Soldiers is perpetually wavering; therefore it wou'd be indiscreet, as well as dishonourable, to hazard himself and his Reputation, to gain Empire at this Age. That Wars of this Nature require infinitely more Vigour and Resolution than all others: For in private Enterprizes a Person may proceed, and stop where he pleases; but in gaining a Crown, there is no Medium between the State of a Prince, and the Death of

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a Traitor. The more that *Vespasian* declin'd his own Promotion, and the Ambition of an Empire, the more his Lieutenants endeavour'd to confirm in him the Facility of the Attempt, and the Duty incumbent upon him, to free the State from an usurping Tyrant, and an Army of Robbers, not Soldiers. Besides these private Counsels *Mutianus* told him openly and in Publick, That the Roman State was now so miserably degenerated by means of its corrupt Governours, that after your atchieving so many glorious Exploits, you must expect no Safety; for how many renown'd Persons have of late been destroy'd, only because their Merits and Victories distinguish'd 'em from the Vulgar: So that formerly, seeking the Empire might have been term'd Ambition and Treason; but now the Empire must be your only Refuge and Sanctuary. We rise not against *Augustus*, a Person of that profound Insight and Prudence, nor against the Wary old Age of *Tiberius*, nor against the House of *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero*, rooted by so many Descents into the Empire: You also gave place to the Antiquity of *Galba's* Family; but to sleep now, and to abandon the State to be thus abominably polluted, and miserably ruin'd, is an unpardonable Piece of Sloth and Cowardice; tho' your living in this Slavery, were always as safe as it is dishonourable. We are to meet an Enemy enervated with Licentiousness, Armies dissolv'd in Ease and Luxury, and the very March of our Forces will immediately disclose all the secret Distempers of the present Government: Nor do I rely more upon your Vigilance and Conduct, than upon the Stupidity and Cruelty of *Vitellius*. And more than all, this our Cause is far more justifiable in War than in Peace; for they who deliberate to Rebel, have already Rebell'd. After this Speech, the rest came more boldly about him, exhorting and perswading him, and laying before him the Oracles and Prophecies, and the favourable

vourable Aspects of the Heavens; till finding all Ways ineffectual, his Soldiers forc'd and compell'd him with their drawn Swords, threatning him with immediate Death if he refus'd the Empire, as *Josephus* and some others testifie. Whereupon *Vespasian* took upon him the Imperial Authority, and shortly after all the Armies in the *East* came to his Obedience and Service; as likewise did those of *Mæsia*, *Pannonia*, *Noricum* and *Dalmatia*. All things succeeding thus prosperously on *Vespasian's* Side, he call'd a Council of War, with *Mutianus*, *Alexander*, and his Son *Titus*; where it was decreed, that *Titus* shou'd continue the Wars against the *Jews*; that *Mutianus* with all possible Diligence, shou'd with the greatest part of the Legions enter *Italy*; and that *Vespasian* shou'd go to *Alexandria* to make Provision from all Parts, and with a greater Power to pass over into *Italy*, there to joyn *Mutianus* as Occasion shou'd require it: All which Designs were speedily and diligently put in Execution.

At the same time the *Mælian* Legions hearing of *Mutianus's* design'd Expedition, chose *Antonius Primus* for their Commander, an excellent Soldier, who had been banish'd by *Nero* and restor'd by *Galba*, and hastned into *Italy* before *Mutianus* cou'd arrive; either with Design of shewing their extraordinary Readiness to serve *Vespasian*, or in hopes of getting the Plunder of that Country. Great Preparations on the Emperors side were made against all these threatning Storms, and tho' he himself was so bury'd in Luxury, as to have but small Concern for the Publick, yet his two chief Commanders, *Valens* and *Cæcinna*, at first us'd great Diligence and Expedition, both in opposing the coming down of *Anthony* from *Mæsia*, and in preventing the Landing of *Mutianus*, whom they

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they expected shortly in *Italy*. But as *Anthony* had already enter'd the *North-West* Parts of *Italy*, *Cæcina* with the principal Forces of *Vitellius*, hasten'd his March towards him, and arriv'd at *Cremona* not far distant from the Enemy; but Considering the Effeminate Softness of his Army, he harkned to the Friendly Advice sent him by *Anthony*, and perswaded his Soldiers, *not to trust to the enfeeb'l'd Power of Vitellius, but to yield to the Merits of Vespasian, while they cou'd do it with the greatest Advantage and Security*. Whereupon with some Reluctancy, they swore Allegiance to *Vespasian*; but as this Action was inconsiderate, so was their Repentance sudden, and their Indignation so violent, that they immediately imprison'd their General as a Traytor, and exhorted *Anthony* to embrace the Emperor's Quarrel. Notwithstanding they were without a General, in the Heat of their Fury, they resolv'd to engage the Enemy; and Marching directly towards *Anthony*, without a Leader, almost starv'd with Hunger and Cold, they fell in with him about the third Hour of the Night, pressing forwards with Great Rage and Obstinacy. *Anthony* was ready to receive 'em, and the Fight continu'd all Night very doubtful and cruel, with great Slaughter sometimes on one Side, and sometimes on the other; and there cou'd not be imagin'd a more dreadful Disorder and Confusion than at present, proceeding from the loud Outcries and Shreeks of the Soldiers, the useles Power of the Commanders, the small Hopes of Glory, and the dismal black Shades of the Night. Thus uncomfortable for both Parties, the Battel continu'd till the Morning; at which time they knew and talk'd with one another, intermitted the Fight, and gave Victuals to one another, and after their Repasts engag'd a second time. But the Souldiers

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on *Anthony's* side saluting, according to their custom, the rising Sun, the *Vitellians* immediately apprehended that *Mutianus* was arriv'd, and shortly after betook themselves to Flight to *Cremona*, losing above 30000 Men. There freeing *Cæcinnæ* from his Imprisonment, they procur'd him to make their Peace; and the *Mæssian* Legions immediately after, made several Attacks upon *Cremona*, and entring the Place, they laid it in Ashes, using all imaginable Outrages and Barbarities.

Vitellius was wallowing in all manner of Luxury and Excess, when the News of this great Defeat was brought to him; at which he was so extremely startl'd and irresolute, that he became ridiculous to all Men. But at last rousing himself a little from his drowsie Life, and intoxicating Pleasures, he order'd *Fulius Priscus* and *Alphenus Varus*, with what Forces he cou'd procure, to guard the Narrow Passages of the *Appennine* Mountains, and prevent *Anthony's* March to *Rome*, reserving considerable Forces to secure the City under his Brother *Lucius*. At last through the instant Importunities of his Army lying at *Mevania*, assuming a great Train of Senators, partly upon Suit, and principally upon Fear, he repair'd to his Camp irresolute of himself, and obnoxious to all unfaithful Counsels. Nothing appear'd more ridiculous to the *Romans*, than to see their Prince and Commander without Skill in Arms, void of Direction and Counsel, demanding of others in what Order to March, what Diligence was requir'd for Discoveries, what Means was to be observ'd to carry on the War, and upon every flying Rumour fearful in Countenance, and trembling in Body, and besides all, most commonly drunk. At length growing weary of his Camp,
and

and understanding of the Revolt of his Fleet at *Misenum*, he return'd to *Rome*, ever fearful of the last Blow, and always careless of the principal Concern. But his Fears daily increasing, he thought of a Composition with *Vespasian*; and being offer'd by Letters from *Anthony* and *Mutianus*, that if he wou'd peaceably resign the Empire, his Life shou'd be granted him, and a Place and a Revenue sufficient for his Maintenance. Hereupon in *December*, he departed out of his Palace in deep Mourning, with his Servants all sad and weeping about him, and his little Son carry'd in a small Chair, as if it were to his Burial. All Persons that had any Sense of humane Instability, were mov'd at this Object, to see an Emperor of *Rome*, just before Lord of the Universe, to abandon the Seat of his State, and to sink to nothing. *Tacitus* observes, that sudden Violence destroy'd *Julius Cæsar*, and secret Conspiracy *Caligula*; Night and the obscure Corner of a Country House cover'd *Nero's* Flight; *Piso* and *Galba* dy'd as it were in the Field; but *Vitellius* in the Assembly of his own People, and amidst his own Soldiers. Having utter'd some Words agreeable to his present Misfortune, *That he gave Place in regard of Peace, and the Good of the Republick, only desiring them to return some Remembrance of him, and take pity of his Brother, his Wife and young Children*; at length overcome with Tears, he offer'd his Sword to *Cæcilius* the Consul, surrendring thereby Power of Life and Death over the Citizens. Which when the Consul refus'd to accept, he departed, protesting, *That he would lay down all his Regalities in the Temple of Concord, and so as a private Man retire to his Brother's House*; but being stopp'd and hinder'd by the Soldiers and others, not knowing what to do, or how to proceed, he return'd to his Palace.

Vitellius offers to resign the Empire.

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Vitellius

Vitellius the next Day taking Courage from the Promises and Proteſtations of the Soldiers and Citizens, chang'd his Determination; which extreamly mov'd *Sabinus*, Governour of the City, as having been very forward in promoting the Reſignation; and underſtanding that ſome of *Vitellius's* Party came to murder him in his Houſe, he by the Inducement of his Friends, with ſome Senators and *Equites*, ſeiz'd on the *Capitol*, and was immediately beſieg'd by the *Vitellian* Soldiers; ſo that *Rome* as well as *Italy*, now felt the fatal Miſeries of Civil Conteſts. The next Morning the *Capitol* was aſſaulted with great Fury; but it being weakly provided, it was defended with no Courage nor Order: And as in ſuch ſudden Miſfortune it often happens, that all will direct and command, and few will obey and execute; ſo by means of ill Fighting, and worſe Directing, after a bloody Conteſt, the *Capitol* was enter'd by Force, and by the Fury of the Soldiers, that Glorious Edifice was laid in Aſhes; the moſt deplorable Miſfortune, as *Tacitus* ſays, and the moſt deteſtable Fact that ever beſell the *Roman* People ſince the City was founded. Young *Domitian*, Nephew to *Sabinus*, and Son to *Veſpaſian*, eſcap'd by Flight, but all the reſt were put to the Sword, except *Sabinus*, whom the Soldiers took Priſoner, and ſhortly after executed him by the Command of *Vitellius*. Soon after the Death of *Sabinus*, *Vitellius* underſtanding of *Anthony's* March towards *Rome* and of *Mutianus's* Arrival in *Italy*, he again began to ſeek for Peace, and ſent Letters and Meſſengers to *Anthony* to beg for a Compoſure; and he grew ſo timorous and dejected, that he likewiſe ſent the *Veſtal Virgins*, as in a Caſe of the greateſt Extremity. But *Anthony* being inrag'd at the Death of *Sabinus*, and the Deſtruction of the *Capitol*

The Capitol
burnt the ſe-
cond Time.

pitol, would hearken to no Treaty, nor come to any Composition, but continu'd his March even to the Walls of *Rome*, where the *Vitellian* Forces expected him, resolutely determining to defend themselves to the last. So there being both within and without numerous Armies of the best Soldiers in the World, *Anthony* attack'd the City on three sides, and the *Vitellians* sally'd out in as many; and there began at each of 'em the most cruel Battel that ever the *Romans* sustain'd, the *Flavians* being elevated by their former Conquests, and the *Vitellians* supported by Fury and Despair. After the Battels had continu'd a whole Day, the latter were driven into the City, and a dreadful Slaughter of 'em made in the *Campus Martius*, and the Streets. The People stood by and look'd on as they fought; and as at some remarkable Game or Pastime clapp'd their Hands, encouraging sometimes one Party, and sometimes the other, and when either side turn'd their Backs, and hid themselves in Houses or Shops, they cry'd to have 'em pluck'd out and kill'd, and so gain'd themselves the greatest part of the Prey: For while the Soldiers were busily employ'd in Slaughter and Bloodshed, the Spoil fell to the share of the common People. Throughout the whole City there was both a barbarous and a shameful Spectacle; in one Place Slaying and Wounding, in another Tipling and Bathing; here Streams of Blood and Heaps of mangled Bodies, and hard by lewd Debauchees, and shameless Strumpets; in summ, all the abominable Licentiousness of a most dissolute and riotous Peace, and all the deplorable Miseries of a most dreadful and cruel Captivity.

Rome Sack'd.

Thus was this mighty City, the Head and Empress of the World, taken by her own natural Subjects ; and as it was fatal to many Thousands, so it was no less to *Vitellius* himself, who with great Fear and Confusion, retir'd privately to his Wife's House on Mount *Aventine*, designing to have fled that Night to *Tarracina* to his Brother, and the Cohorts there. But immediately changing his Mind, and as it happens to Men in extream Danger, fearing all Things, and most disliking the present, he return'd again to his Palace, now waste and desolate, even his basest and meanest Servants being either fled away, or else purposely avoiding his Presence. This unusual Silence and Solitariness extreamly astonish'd him ; and after much sorrowful Wandring and Weariness, he cast himself into an obscure close Corner, from whence he was soon after pluckt out, by a Party of the Conqu'ring side. To whom he pretended he had Secrets of the highest Importance to discover to *Vespasian*, and very servilely begg'd 'em to keep him, tho' in Prison, till he came to *Rome*. But all was in vain, for without attending any further Determination or Counsel, they bound his Hands behind him, throwing a Halter about his Neck, and tearing his very Cloaths off his Back, they dragg'd him half Naked into the Publick Forum, through the main Street call'd *Via Sacra*, upbraiding him all the time with a Thousand opprobrious Words, and treating him with all imaginable Indignities, tying his Hair backward, as is usual to the most execrable Malefactors, and holding the Point of a Sword under his Chin, lest by bending down his Head he might prevent the shewing his Face: Some pelted him with Dung and Filth, others revil'd him with his Gluttony, others call'd him *Incendiary*, and others

thers reproach'd him with the Imperfections of his Body, as being of an enormous Tallness, having a fiery red Face, a prodigious Belly, and a distorted Thigh; till at length they brought him to the *Gemoniæ*, and kill'd him with many Strokes and Wounds; from whence they dragg'd him with a Hook, and with all possible Ignominy threw him into the *Tiber*. This was the disgraceful End of *Vitellius*, the Ninth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 57th Year of his Age, after a short Reign of eight Months and five Days, tho' *Suetonius* seems to ascribe a longer Reign to him; a Reign which, together with his two Predecessors, *Galba* and *Otho*, makes not much above eighteen Months; which occasion'd some Writers not to put 'em into the Catalogue of Emperors, and *Plutarch* to compare 'em to Kings in Tragedies, which last no longer than the time that they appear upon the Stage. The Death of this Emperor was accompany'd with that of his Brother *Lucius Vitellius*, and his only Son, which may be said to be an Addition to the Punishment of this Usurper and Tyrant; a Person whose Life was most Impious, whose Advancement was most Villainous, whose Administration was most Odious, and whose Death was most Ignominious.

C H A P. V.

From the Death of Vitellius, to the Death of Vespasian, the Tenth Emperor, who restor'd the Empire in a great measure to its former Glory.

Containing the space of about Ten Tears.

A. D.
70.

I. **T**HE Death of *Vitellius*, and the Overthrow of his Party, rather finish'd the War than began a Peace. For the Conquerors pursu'd their Enemies throughout the City with implacable Hatred and Fury; the Streets were inhumanly pav'd with dead Carcasses, the sacred Temples, and publick Places disinally embru'd with Blood; every Man lying Slain where it was his Fortune to be overtaken, without distinction of Place or Person: And Licentiousness increasing, they began to search Houses, and drag out such as were hid, massacring all Soldiers, and all others whom they ignorantly or maliciously accounted such; satiating themselves while their Choler continu'd fresh, with nothing but Blood and Destruction. But as the Heat of their Rage and Fury was asswag'd, they converted their Cruelty into Covetousness; suffering no Closet to escape unris'd, nor no secret Place unsearch'd, pretending that the *Vitellians* were conceal'd there; which was a specious Pretence of breaking open all Houses, and if Resistance were made, a fair occasion of new Massacres. Besides the Soldiers, the Mob, and beggarly Scum of the People, now with the foremost, grew triumphant in Plundering and Villainies; some of the lewdest Bond-

Men

Men voluntarily discover'd their Wealthy Masters; some were detected by their own Friends; dreadful Lamentations and Outcries were heard in every Street, and the City appear'd as a Place expos'd and abandon'd to the furious Ravages of a merciless Enemy: Infomuch that the Insolencies occasion'd by the Riotous Soldiers of *Otho* and *Vitellius*, so much detested before, were now accounted inconsiderable Evils comparatively with the present Calamities. Among many Persons of the highest Rank, the late Emperor's Brother *Lucius* was put to Death; a Person in Vices equal to his Brother, yet far more vigilant in his Reign; and not so much Partaker with him in his Prosperity, as violently carry'd away with the current of his Adversity. But shortly after, at the Arrival of *Mutianus* to the City, and the return of *Domitian*, who had absconded since the Death of his Uncle *Sabinus*, and the Burning of the *Capitol*, the Murders and Ravages in the City ceas'd, and there began some Order to appear in the State.

The Senate was Assembl'd, and *Vespasian* declar'd Emperor by the unanimous consent of all, the *Lex Regia* being renew'd to him in particular; and the same Power which *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and the rest enjoy'd, was confirm'd to him as Hereditary. A Fragment of this Law is still extant; which, by reason of its shewing the Extent of the Authority of *Vespasian*, and all other Emperors, I have here inserted as follows: *Let it be lawful for Him to make a League with whom he pleases, as it was lawful to Divus Augustus, Tiberius Julius Cæsar Augustus, and Tib. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, &c. As also to hold the Senate, make Report, dismiss, and make Senatusconsulta, by Reporting and Separation, as it was lawful to Divus*

*Vespasian
made Empe-
ror.*

Augustus, Tiberius Ju. Cæsar Augustus, and Tib. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus. Moreover, when as by his Will, Authority, Command, or Mandate, or he being present, the Senate shall be Assembl'd, it shall be as effectual, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the Senate had been Assembl'd or held by Law. Moreover, whomsoever he shall commend to the Roman Senate or People, that stand for any Magistracy, Power, Command, or Charge, or to whomsoever he shall give or promise his Suffrage, let him be consider'd beyond the usual Form in the Comitia. As also it may be lawful for him to enlarge the Pomærium, if he think it convenient for the Common-wealth, or agreeable to the Majesty of all Things Divine or Humane, Publick or Private, let him have Right and Authority to act and do, so as it was lawful for Divus Augustus, Tiberius Ju. Cæsar Augustus, and Tib. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus. Moreover, from such Laws and Plebiscita as it was Ordain'd, that Divus Augustus, Tiberius Ju. Cæsar Augustus, and Tib. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus shou'd be freed from those Laws and Plebiscita, let the Emperor Cæsar Vespasian be freed. And what Things soever, by what Law or Rogatio soever Divus Augustus, Tiberius Ju. Cæsar Augustus, and Tib. Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus ought to do, let it be lawful for the Emperor Cæsar Vespasian Augustus to do them all. Moreover, what Things soever that before the Rogatio of this Law were acted, done, decreed, or commanded by the Emperor Cæsar Vespasian Augustus, or by any other, by virtue of his Command or Mandate, let them be held as Just and Valid, as if they had been done by Command of the People or Commons. After which follows the Sanction in these words. If any Person by Virtue of this Law has done or shall do any Thing against the Laws, Rogationes, Plebiscita, or Senatusconsulta, or shall not do what he

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he ought to have done according to any Law, Rogatio, Plebiscitum, or Senatusconsultum, and that by Virtue of this Law, let no Damage from thence happen to him; neither let him owe any thing to the People for this Matter, nor let any have an Action against him, nor let any Person judge him, nor permit the Matter to be debated before him. Many Couriers were immediately dispatch'd to *Vespasian*, now at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, to yield Obedience to him in behalf of the Senate, and to desire his Return to *Rome*; but the Winter being dangerous for Sailing, he deferr'd his Voyage to a more convenient Season.

The Civil Miseries of *Rome* it self were now at an End, but such violent Commotions were rais'd in *Gaul* and *Germany*, as extreamly endanger'd the Peace and Safety of the Empire. These were first occasion'd before the Death of *Vitellius* by the crafty Instigations of *Claudius Civilis*, a Person of great Designs, and of as great Reputation among his Countrymen the *Batavians* in the Lower *Germany*, who having been sent in Chains to *Nero*, and freed by *Galba*, came into danger under *Vitellius*, the Army instantly demanding his Death. Besides his Country-Men, now the Inhabitants of *Holland*, he excited his Neighbours the *Caninafatæ* to this Rebellion; and by secret Messages and large Promises drew over the Auxiliaries of *Britain*, and the *Batavian* Cohorts, then quarter'd at *Moguntiacum* now *Mentz*. These drove out and destroy'd the *Roman* Garrisons, Overthrew *Aquilinus*, Captain of the advanc'd Guard; and after him *Mummius Lupercus* the Lieutenant. *Herennius Gallus* endeavouring to prevent the March of these Cohorts, was likewise worsted by 'em; and as *Vitellius* had drein'd these Parts of Soldiers against *Otho* and *Vespasian*, *Civilis* for a time met with
but

but small Resistance. Having gather'd together a considerable Force, for a more colourable Pretence he caus'd his Army to swear to *Vespasian*, and besieg'd such as refus'd in the old Camp; after which the *Romans* Mutining against *Hordonius* their General, the Command was given to *Vocula*, an eminent Soldier, and *Herennius Gallus* was made his Lieutenant. *Vocula* in his first Engagement with *Civilis* was oblig'd to Retreat, but in a second he Overthrew him, tho' without any Prospect of finishing the War; for the News of *Vitellius's* Death through *Gaul* and *Germany* increas'd the Disorders and Commotions in all Parts. And now *Civilis*, without any Pretence of Friendship to *Vespasian*, by his Deportment shew'd himself an Enemy to the *Romans* in general; and the Soldiers of *Vitellius*, by reason of their ill Actions, rather chose an external Servitude, than the Government of *Vespasian*: The *Gauls* likewise took new Courage and Resolution, interpreting the Burning of the *Capitol* to presage the Ruine and Destruction of the Empire. Whereupon the *Treviri*, and the *Lingones*, two considerable Nations Revolted, and all *Gaul* was in a tottering and unsettl'd Condition; and what still prov'd more dangerous, the Legions themselves were corrupted, and became Traytors to their Country, a thing unknown till now among the *Romans*. Having murder'd *Vocula* their General, they perfidiously took an Oath to the Empire of *Gaul*; and to these other Legions in several Places joyn'd themselves, some being besieg'd upon necessity, and afterwards cut in Pieces by *Civilis*, according to their Deserts. And these Disturbances encreasing, *Julius Sabinus*, one of the Revolters taking upon him the name of *Cæsar*, led a numerous and disorderly Body of Men against the *Sequani*, who not refusing Battel routed the confus'd Multitude, and put *Sabinus* to Flight. These

These dangerous Disturbances being reported at Rome with Enlargements, the Senate were in a great Consternation, and *Mutianus* had no less Concern upon him, who together with *Vespasian's* Son *Domitian* set forward for the War, with great celerity dispatching four Legions towards Germany, under the Command of *Petilius Cerealis*. By which time the *Gauls*, principally by the Means of *Julius Vindex*, began to consider and reflect on the mighty Power of the *Romans*, and at length approv'd rather of a servile Peace than a dangerous and fatal War; *Cerealis* also gave the *Treviri* a great Overthrow, and most of the Revolters return'd to Obedience. Shortly after which, he came to a general Battel with *Civilis* and his Associate *Classicus*, in the Beginning of which he was much overpower'd, for the Legions began to be broken, the Cavalry were put to Flight, and his Bridge over the River *Mosella* possess'd by the Enemy; yet after all these great Disadvantages, *Cerealis* by his extraordinary Care and Diligence recover'd all, and not only routed the Enemy, but also took and destroy'd their Camp. *Mutianus* and *Domitian* receiv'd News of this Success before their Arrival at the *Alps*, and *Mutianus* perswaded the other against proceeding in their March, well knowing his ambitious and haughty Temper, which already had disclos'd it self to the disquieting of the City; but his Advice not succeeding, he went with him as far as *Lyons* out of Compliance, from whence, as it is said, *Domitian* wrote privately to *Cerealis* to deliver up his Army to him, that he might have an Opportunity of rebelling against his Father, or of rivalling his Brother *Titus*. But perceiving that he was condemn'd upon the Account of his Youth, he carefully betook himself to such Courses as might
best

best conceal his Designs. Shortly after *Civilis* recruited and augmented his Forces through *Germany*, and *Cerealis* also doubled his Strength; whereupon several Engagements ensu'd, the Effects of which was an Accommodation. For the *Batavians* were so severely chastis'd, that they gladly accepted of a Peace, as well as *Civilis* of a Pardon, both of which being offer'd by the *Roman* General.

The first Eruption of the Northern Nations.

During the time of these violent Commotions in *Germany* and *Gaul*, those *Scythians* call'd *Sarmatæ* suddenly pass'd the River *Ister* into *Mæsia*, and pursu'd their March with so much Celerity and Fury, that they destroy'd several of the *Roman* Garrisons, together with *Fonteius Agrippa* the Lieutenant, after a valiant Resistance, and wasted all the adjacent Countries with Fire and Sword. *Vespasian* hearing of this at *Alexandria*, and the Ravages made in *Mæsia*, sent *Rubrius Gallus* to stem this furious Torrent, by whom great Numbers were slain in Battel, and the rest driven with great Terror into their own Country. The War being thus speedily finish'd, the General, to prevent any further Attempts, fortify'd the Places with stronger Garrisons and Forts, by which Means the Enemies Passage became more impracticable. These first Eruptions of the barbarous Northern Nations ought the more to be noted and observ'd, because after some Ages they over-ran and destroy'd the *Roman* Empire.

Vespasian continu'd several Months at *Alexandria*, where he receiv'd great Honours and Offers of Forces from many Foreign Potentates; and during his Stay in that Place, this remarkable Accident is related of him by the best Authors. A blind and a lame Man, of mean Condition, and of the vulgar Rank, presenting themselves to him as he sat

sat upon his Tribunal, beseech'd him most humbly, *That he wou'd vouchsafe to cure 'em, for they had been admonish'd by their God Serapis in a Dream, that if he pleas'd but to spit upon the Eyes of one, and but touch the other with his Heel, both of 'em shou'd recover and be cur'd.* *Vespasian* doubting much of the Success, durst not put it in Practice; till being overrul'd by the Importunities and Perswasions of his Friends, he try'd both Means before the whole Assembly, and found the Persons effectually cur'd. Before his Voyage to *Rome* he order'd his Son *Titus* to continue the Wars against the *Jews*, well knowing his extraordinary Skill and Valour; and setting Sail from *Alexandria*, he touch'd at *Rhodes*, and from thence passing to *Greece*, he honour'd several Cities there with his Presence, sailing from thence to *Italy*. Never any Prince in the World was more ardently expected, or more triumphantly receiv'd, than *Vespasian*; all rightly judging Him to be a Person of those Vertues and Excellencies as might best recover the languishing State of the *Roman* Empire. He was met many Miles from *Rome* by the Senate and Nobility of the City, and by above half the Citizens, who were so desirous of seeing him, that they cou'd not contain themselves in the City-Walls, such Transports of Joy appear'd in every Man's Face. The rest receiv'd him at his Entrance with their Wives and all their Children; and he was all the Way entertain'd with joyful Applauses, and loud Acclamations, resounding from many hundred thousand Mouths, and calling him their *Benefactor and Conserver*, and *the only Person worthy to be Emperor of the World*. The whole City, as a Temple, was all hung with magnificent Garlands, and full of precious Odours and Perfumes; and the infinite Throngs and Multitudes of People were such, that
the

the Emperor with great Difficulty arriv'd at the Palace. The whole Body of the People were feasted by their Tribes, Kindreds, and Neighbours; and sacrificing to their Gods, they requested, *That Vespasian might continue their Emperor many Years, and his Son Titus after him, and that the Empire might never depart from his Linage.* And *Vespasian*, now Fifty nine Years of Age, began immediately to act conformably to the Hopes all Men had conceiv'd of him, in administering Justice, in reforming the Laws and Customs of Rome, honourably rewarding those who had serv'd him, and pardoning his Adversaries with singular Clemency.

*The Miseries of
the Jews.*

In the mean time *Titus* carried on the Wars against the *Jews*, who now in a deplorable Manner languish'd under all the Miseries and Calamities which possibly cou'd befall Mankind; and, as our Blessed Saviour told his Disciples, *such as never hapned from the Creation of the World to that time, nor never shou'd again.* Famines, Plagues, Earthquakes, Prodigies in Heaven and Earth, Voices, Armies fighting in the Air, and a Flaming Sword hanging over *Jerusalem*, were so many fatal Prefiges of the Destruction of that Glorious City and Temple now threatned by the *Roman* Eagles: And certainly there never was a more signal Instance of a severe Visitation from Heaven upon a People who by their obstinate Blindness and Impieties had made themselves most miserable Objects of Divine Wrath, and fully ripen'd themselves for Vengeance. Before *Titus's* Expedition against *Jerusalem*, the *Jews* were grievously embroil'd in Factions and Dissensions, destroying and robbing one another in all Parts; at length great Numbers turning open Robbers, they gather'd together in whole Troops, committing such Ravages

Ravages and Cruelties, as equall'd all the Misfortunes they receiv'd from the *Romans*. Afterwards the Robbers loaden with Pillage and Plunder broke into *Jerusalem* it self, where they not only consum'd the Provisions of the People, but fill'd the City with miserable Slaughters, Rapines, and Dissentions. They cast the Principal of the Citizens into Prison, and then put 'em to Death unheard; pretending that they design'd to have betray'd the City to the *Romans*; yet after all these horrid Impieties, they boasted of Zeal for the Law of God, and the Customs of their Country, and thereupon were term'd *Zealots*. Finding the People were ready to oppose 'em with Arms, they retir'd to the Temple, where they made an ignorant Fellow call'd *Phanias* High-Priest, tho' he was not of the Sacerdotal Order; but they were sharply resisted by *Ananus* the High-Priest, who procur'd the People to rise against 'em, and forc'd 'em into the Inward Part of the Temple. Upon which Exigency they sent to the *Idumæans*, accusing *Ananus* of wickedly designing the Betraying of his Country, and imploring their Assistance, since they themselves, who fought for the Liberty of it, were now closely besieg'd. The *Idumæans* immediately came to the Number of Twenty thousand Men, who being let into the City by Means of the *Zealots*, together with them committed most insupportable Outrages against the miserable Inhabitants. They massacred Eight thousand the first Night, and afterwards Twelve thousand of the Nobility, among whom was *Ananus*, besides an infinite Number of the Common Sort; but at length the *Idumæans* perceiving the Impieties of the *Zealots*, and that they had falsly accus'd the Nobility, set at Liberty Two thousand whom they had imprison'd, and return'd home. After whose Departure

parture, the *Zealots* renew'd their Rapines and Slaughters, and rag'd more cruelly than ever, especially against such as endeavour'd to fly to the *Romans*.

But shortly after the *Zealots* were divided among themselves, by reason of one *John*, who with a Seditious Party holding *Giscala*, pretended to accept of those Articles granted by *Titus*, and privately retired to *Jerusalem*. There joining with the *Zealots*, and becoming the principal Incendiary, he now affected Sovereign Power over the rest, but was violently oppos'd by such as before had been his Equals. Yet tho' they disagreed in this Matter, they all accorded in plundering the People; and *Jerusalem* being thus fill'd with Tumults and Disturbances, those who were without the City had liberty to rob and pillage, and those whose Towns were destroy'd by these Means, assembled together in the Desarts, and uniting, broke into other Temples and Towns; so that there was no Place in *Judæa* which did not suffer in a most unheard-of manner. In a short time a Faction was rais'd against the *Zealots* by one *Simon* the Son of *Giora*, who gathering together great Multitudes of Robbers and Murderers who were got into the Mountainous Parts, attack'd many Cities and Towns, reduc'd all *Idumæa* into his Power, wasted *Judæa*, encamp'd himself before *Jerusalem* it self, and became a mighty Terror to the Inhabitants, who were most miserably oppress'd by the *Zealots* within. In the mean time such *Idumæans* as had lately fled into the City, and join'd themselves with the *Zealots*, detesting the Cruelties of *John*, whom the *Zealots* had chosen for their Commander, oppos'd his Proceedings, kill'd many of his Men, and forc'd the Tyrant out of his Palace into the Temple;

ple; but the Citizens fearing that he might destroy the City in the Night, agreed to let in *Simon* with his Army, who entering the City, vigorously attack'd the Temple, but in vain. Immediately after *Eleazar*, who once had been Chief among the *Zealots*, envying the new Authority of *John*, found Means to draw over many of his Soldiers to him, and seiz'd on the inward Part of the Temple; so that now a third Faction was rais'd, and *John* was oblig'd to fight both against *Simon* and *Eleazar*. By which Means the Temple and Altar were abominably polluted with Blood, all Things about it were burnt up, and Provisions destroy'd, which might have serv'd the City for many Years, and for want of which it suffer'd so extremely in a short time after.

Jerusalem was involv'd in all these miserable Calamities, when *Titus* with a powerful Army approach'd the Place to invest it, being accompany'd with *Alexander* Governor of *Egypt*, and *Josephus* the *Jew*, who for the Truth of his Prediction was now freed from his Imprisonment. *Titus* sat down within six or seven Furlongs of the City, a short time before the *Feast of the Passover*, and shut up an infinite Multitude of People, who according to the Custom came from all Parts to that great Solemnity; by which Means all Provisions were consum'd in a short Space. The Three Factions, upon the sight of this numerous Army, unanimously agreed to oppose it, and sallying out with great Resolution and Fury, put the *Romans* to Disorder, oblig'd 'em to abandon their Camp, and fly to the Mountains; but the *Jews* were at last repell'd, and forc'd into the City by the extraordinary Skill and Valour of *Titus*, who highly signaliz'd himself in this and all other Actions in the Siege. During all Intermittions of the Besie-

*Titus's Army
against the
Jews.*

gers Attacks, the Civil Conteſts were reviv'd within the City with great Slaughters and Confuſions; and upon the *Feaſt of Unleaven'd Bread*, on the Fourteenth of *April*, *Eleazar* and his Companions open'd the Gates, that all Perſons might have Liberty to pay their Devotions in the Temple. But *John* us'd this Feſtival as a Means to effect his treacherous Deſigns, cauſing great Numbers of his Associates to enter among the People with Weapons under their Garments, to get Poſſeſſion of the Temple; who as ſoon as they were enter'd caſt off their Garments, and ſhew'd themſelves in Armour. Immediately a dreadful Tumult aroſe in the Temple; for all the People who were not of the Sedition thought themſelves betray'd, and the *Zealots* imagining this Treason only practis'd to prejudice them, abandon'd their Poſt, leap'd from the Towers, and fled into the Vaults about the Temple: And the People flocking about the Altar, and others who were driven into the Temple, were kill'd with Clubs and Swords, and trodden under Foot after a barbarous manner. Great Numbers were ſlain upon private Reſentments, and all ſuch as had formerly offended theſe Traitors were deſtroy'd without Mercy; but they who cruelly rag'd againſt the Innocent, gave the Offenders Leasure to eſcape out of their Vaults, by which Means they gain'd the inward Part of the Temple, and with great Slaughter aſſaulted the other Parties; ſo that at length the Factions were reduc'd to Two, that under *John* conſiſting of 8400, and the other under *Simon* of 10000 Fighting Men beſides 5000 *Idumæans*. Notwithſtanding the Enemy was at the Walls, and to oppoſe them they generally joyn'd their Forces; yet upon all Intermiſſions they violently rag'd againſt each other, and both againſt the Citizens;

so that never any City in the World was more severely harass'd without, and more miserably torn within.

The City being strongly fortifi'd with three Walls on every side, except where it was fenc'd with deep Vallies, *Titus* found great Difficulties in the Siege, but having with much Opposition plac'd his Engines, he batter'd the outward Wall, and breaking in on the third Day of *May*, possess'd all the *North* Part, as far as the Tower of *Antonius*, and the Valley of *Cedron*. All this time he shew'd great Clemency to the *Jews*, and gave 'em all imaginable Assurances of Pardon and civil Treatment if they wou'd submit; but so obstinate were the *Jews*, that they refus'd all Conditions, and judg'd his generous Humanity to be nothing but Cowardice. Five Days after he broke through the second Wall, tho' the Besieg'd made divers Sallies, and drove him out again; yet on the fourth Day he recover'd the Place, and prepar'd for the Battery of the third Wall. After which he sent *Josephus* to his Country-Men to exhort 'em to yield, who using all the powerful and pathetical Perswasions imaginable, was entertain'd only with Scoffs and Be-proaches; so that now *Titus* resolv'd to shew no Mercy to a People who had been perfidious and rebellious to the highest Degree, and now stubborn and remorseless beyond all Example and Belief. The Citizens designing to escape out of the City, *John* and *Simon* stopp'd up all Passages; yet the Famine increasing, great numbers stole out, who being taken by *Titus*, he caus'd them to be all crucifi'd, insomuch that *Rome* was wanting for Crosses, and Crosses for Persons. On the 12th of *May*, *Titus* began four Mounts for his Battering Rams; two nigh the Castle *Antonia*, where he

was in hopes of taking the Temple, and two nigh the Monument of *John* the High-Priest, where he suppos'd he might break into the upper Part of the City with greatest Facility. But *John*, whose Office was to oppose the *Romans* about the Castle *Antonia*, with great Bravery Sally'd out, cast down the Ramparts, and destroy'd 'em; and two Days after *Simon* with as much Courage burnt up the other, tho' seventeen Days had been spent in finishing 'em all. He likewise destroy'd many Rams and Engines, and courageously pressing forward, broke into the very Camp of the *Romans*; but was valiantly repuls'd by *Titus* from *Antonia*, who in a Council of War now resolv'd to compass the whole City with a Trench, which with incredible Diligence and Celerity, was finish'd in three Days, with thirteen Forts both to hinder the Flight of the Besieged, and to prevent all Relief coming into the City from abroad.

The Seditious seem'd nothing mov'd at this, tho' the Famine not only raged among the common Sort, but likewise began to afflict them; and such a Mortality ensu'd, that from the 14th of April, to the first of July 115080 Carcasses of the poorer sort, were carry'd out to be bury'd at the publick Charge, as *Titus* was inform'd by one *Mammæus*, who was appointed to pay the Money. Divers Noble-Men also that fled to him, certifi'd him that 600000 of the ordinary Rank were cast dead out of the Gates, and others who dy'd besides were innumerable; and that when so many dy'd as they were not able to bury 'em, they gather'd their Bodies together into the greatest Houses adjoyning, and there shut 'em up. A Bushel of Corn was sold for 600 Crowns, Sinks and Holes were continually rak'd to find the old
Dung

Dung of Oxen to satisfy Peoples Hunger, which extremely mov'd the Compassion of *Titus* and the *Romans*, but the Minds of the Seditious were not at all chang'd. For *Simon*, notwithstanding these deplorable Calamities, continuing his Rapines and Murders, kill'd *Matthias* the High-Priest, by whom he had Entrance into the City, with his three Sons, and sixteen others, pretending that they design'd to fly to the Enemy. Whereupon *Judas* one of his Officers being weary of his insupportable Cruelties, attempted to betray a certain Tower to the *Romans* where he commanded; but being discover'd by an Accident, he was put to Death with ten others of his Accomplices. *John* also being driven by extream Necessity, converted the golden Vessels of the Temple with the sacred Money to prophane Uses; and was constrain'd to divide the Wine and Oyl, ordain'd for Sacrifices, among his Soldiers. The Famine rag'd so extremely, that a Noble-Woman boy'd her own Child to eat it, which was look'd upon as so detestable an Act among the *Romans*, as well as the *Jews*, that *Titus* after he insist'd upon his frequent Offers of Peace and Pardon to the *Jews*, declar'd, *That he would bury that abominable Crime in the Ruins of their Country.* He cut down all the Groves within a great Distance of the City, and causing more Mounts to be rais'd within 21 Days, on the first of *July* he began to batter the last Wall; and repelling *John* and his Party, on the fifth Day enter'd the Castle by Force. At which time many false Prophets deluded the Multitude, by telling 'em *They should have Assistance from God*; and therefore tho' *Titus* still exhorted 'em to yield, they obstinately refus'd all Accommodation, boasting *That they had rather endure all kinds of Miseries.* Whereupon the

Contest grew very bloody about the Temple, but the Wall of the inward Part was too strong for the battering Rams, and the Defendants valiantly resisted the *Romans* from the Top; neither cou'd the Foundation of the Gates be undermin'd, therefore *Titus* was oblig'd to set 'em on Fire. Yet it was his Resolution to save the Temple; but on the tenth of *August*, a certain Soldier against the Command of his General, mov'd by some divine Fury, cast Fire into the Buildings on the *North* Side, which catching hold of the Temple, notwithstanding the utmost Endeavours of *Titus* to the contrary, it consum'd that Edifice, which was the most glorious and most beautiful that the World ever saw.

The Sight of this extream Misfortune, put a sudden Damp to all the Courage of the *Jews*, now neither esteeming their Lives nor Forces, having lost that for which they fought: The loud cries and doleful Lamentations of the People, echo'd from all the adjacent Mountains; and many famish'd, and expiring Persons whose Eyes Death had already clos'd, reassum'd new Strength, and open'd their Eyes to bewail the glorious Temple, which they now beheld all in Flames. *Titus* was immediately Saluted *Imperator* by his Soldiers, and the Seditious fled into the City; where they desir'd a Parly with the General himself, who highly blam'd 'em for their Obstinacy, but promis'd them their Lives upon immediate Submission. But refusing to rely upon his Promises, they demanded Liberty to depart the City with their Wives and Children, which so extreamly inrag'd *Titus*, that he commanded it to be proclaim'd by a Cryer, *That they were not any longer to expect any Mercy.* Whereupon he permitted his Soldiers to plunder and burn the City; but the Seditious

Seditious Tyrants retir'd to the King's Palace, where many had deposited their Wealth, and from thence repell'd the *Romans*. They likewise kill'd 6400 of their own Country-Men, and rifling the Money, betook themselves to the upper and strongest Part of the City, call'd *Sion*, where notwithstanding these imminent Calamities, they still more cruelly tyranniz'd. *Titus*, having consider'd the Strength of the Place, provided Engines to batter the Walls, part of which being broken down, the Tyrants were seiz'd with great Fear and Consternation, not knowing how to proceed: And the Power of Heaven appear'd in the Overthrow of these Wretches; for they abandon'd their Towers which were their only Strength, and in vain sought to escape by hiding themselves in Vaults and Privies; from whence *John* and *Simon* were drag'd, the former being condemn'd to perpetual Imprisonment, and the other reserv'd for a Triumph. The rest were all put to the Sword, and *Titus* commanded both the Temple and City to be intirely raz'd by a Plow being brought over it, according to the Custom, which remarkably accomplish'd our Saviour's Prophecies, *That not one Stone shou'd remain upon another*; only he preserv'd the West-Part of the Wall with three Towers, which for their Strength and Beauty, might bear Testimony of the Stateliness of the City to Posterity. The Soldiers wou'd have Crown'd him as a Conqueror for this Act, and upon the Account of his extraordinary Valour in the Siege; but he refus'd the Honour, denying he was the Author of it, *for he only executed the Designs of Heaven, which had manifestly declared its Wrath against the Jews*. To this fatal End came the famous City of *Jerusalem* after it had flourish'd under Gods own Hand above 2100 Years, in the Se-

The total Destruction of Jerusalem.

A. D.

71.

cond Year of *Vespasian's* Reign, 38 Years after our Saviour's Crucifixion; and never any Siege in the World was more memorable, the Captives amounting to 97000, and those who perish'd in the Siege to 1100000, according to *Josephus*. So heavy was the Guilt of our Saviour's Blood upon the *Jews*, and so abominable were their Vices, that we have reason to agree with that Author, who believ'd, That if the *Romans* had not come against them, the City wou'd have been swallow'd up by the Earth, or have perish'd by some Deluge, or else by Thunder-Bolts and Lightnings, have born the Punishments of *Sodom*, whose Inhabitants they exceeded in Wickedness. Here ended the temporal State and Government of the *Jews*; and that Province, which had been govern'd by the *Romans* as their Friends, and in a great measure free, was now made captive; and the *Jews* themselves were made Slaves, sold and dispers'd through all Parts of the World.

The War being thus finish'd, great Rejoycings were made at *Rome*, and all Mens Mouths were fill'd with the Praises of *Titus*, who not only had shewn himself a most expert Commander, but likewise had slain twelve Men with his own Hands; and a Triumph was Decreed by the Senate both to him and his Father, because the Beginning of the *Jewish* War had been so worthily manag'd by him. Therefore *Titus* leaving all things in good Order in the *East*, he return'd to *Rome*, being receiv'd with the universal Applauses of the whole City, and within a few Days after both the Father and Son enter'd upon their Triumph, which was as Solemn and Magnificent as *Rome* ever saw. For the Spectacles there exhibited both for Number, Variety and Richness, were admirable in all things which Human Invention cou'd possibly

sibly supply ; and almost all things that ever were esteem'd valuable or beautiful among Men, abounding in Riches and Prosperity, were that Day expos'd in the triumph ; largely manifesting the mighty Wealth and Dominions of the Romans. Among the rich Spoils, were expos'd vast Quantities of Gold taken out of the Temple, after which was carry'd the *Jews* Law, the last of all the Spoils. *Titus* had also a Triumphal Arch erected to his Honour, of great Beauty and Magnificence; describing all his Noble Exploits against the *Jews*, which to this Day continues almost intire, as a lasting Monument against that perverse Nation. *Vespasian* likewise built a Temple to *Peace*, wherein he put most of the *Jewish* Spoils ; and now having quieted all Nations, he shut up the Temple of *Janus*, which had been open about five or six Years. This was an extraordinary Satisfaction to the whole City, who now were almost assur'd of future Happiness and Tranquility : For seeing the Contagion of Civil Dissention, beginning in *Gaul* and *Spain*, had pass'd on to *Germany*, then taken a Course to *Dalmatia*, and lastly infected *Egypt*, *Syria* and *Judæa*, in Sum, all Provinces and Armies, they reasonably presum'd, the whole World being thus purg'd and cleans'd, that the Malignant Humour was spent, and civil Wars and Calamities were now at a Period.

Janus's Temple shut the seventh Time.
A. D. 71.

II. After *Vespasian* had thus gloriously finish'd all Troubles and Miseries both Foreign and Domestick, he made it the great Business of the rest of his Reign, which continu'd not above eight Years longer, to establish all Things to the lasting Happiness and Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire, which now needed the powerful Assistance of so Great and Wise a Man to restore it to its former Strength

A. D. 71.

Strength and Vigour. Many notorious Abuses and Corruptions were now crept in, and mix'd with the *Roman* Nation; being begun by a long Peace and Security, then heightened by the Extravagancies of Tyrants and Monsters, and afterwards compleated by the Confusions and Disorders of Civil Dissentions. For the correcting and reforming of these dangerous Irregularities, *Vespasian* us'd great Prudence and Vigour, and the better to effect his Designs, he join'd his Son *Titus* with him in the Consulship, with whom he was seven Times in that Dignity; and likewise made him his Collegue afterwards both in the Censorship and Tribune-ship. And so great was the Authority of *Titus*, that he was in a great measure Partner to his Father in the Empire, which appear'd by his frequent dictating of Letters in his Father's Name, his publishing of Edicts, his speaking to the Senate in the Room of the Quæstor, and his taking upon him the Government of the Imperial Palace; in all which things he acted much to the Honour and Welfare of the Publick, tho' sometimes not so much to the Advantage of his own private Esteem and Reputation among the People.

Vespasian towards the Re-establishing of the State, began first with the Regulation of the Armies and Soldiers, many of which through Confidence of their Victories, and others through a Sense of their Ignominy, ran into all kinds of Licentiousness; which occasion'd many Provinces and free Cities, to become insolent and mutinous. To reform which Disorders, he cashier'd great Numbers of the *Vitellians*, and corrected others, not sparing those who were the greatest Instruments and Partners in his Victories. He omitted no Means nor Care of regulating the Discipline

cipline of the Armies, in which he was never deficient, either in Justice or Rigour. Of which we have a memorable Instance of a young Officer to whom he had given a considerable Command, who waiting upon him to return him Thanks for this Favour, and smelling fragrantly of very rich Oyls, and Perfumes, the Emperour look'd very severely upon him, and with a Voice expressing great Indignation, told him, *He had rather he had smelt of Garlick*, and immediately took away his Commission. He was no less severe with the Seamen who were appointed by the publick, to run on Foot from *Ostia* and *Puteoli* to *Rome*: Upon their petitioning him to have some certain Allowance above their Wages for Shooes, instead of complying with their Petition, he ordain'd for the future, that they shou'd discharge their Duties without any Shooes at all; after which they were oblig'd to perform those Journeys bare-foot. He took a more than ordinary Care in purging and reforming those two most honourable Orders of Men, the *Senators* and *Equites*, of both which he took a general and strict View, they having been much exhausted by Infinite Massacres, and abominably corrupted by the Methods of the preceeding Emperors. Of these he fearlessly turn'd out all such as he found unworthy of their Places and Dignities, and supply'd their Places with the most honourable and deserving Persons he cou'd procure either in *Italy* or the distant Provinces. He likewise strictly examin'd into all the Courts of Judicature, where he found the Number of Processes and Suits in Law swell'd to such an unreasonable Bulk, that old Actions were left undetermined by a long Vacation and Intermission of Justice, and by an Accession of new Contestts arising from the Tumults and Disorders of the late unhappy

unhappy Times. To remedy which Grievance, he Elected certain Persons by Lot, and qualify'd them as Judges, to restore such to the Possession of their Estates, as had been unjustly dispossest during the Wars. These were likewise to determine extraordinarily in Causes before the *Centumviri*, which Causes were become so excessively numerous and tedious, that a Client could seldom hope to see his Suit finish'd; and also to reduce and digest them into a far less compass; for which Purpose many new and excellent Laws were made.

While the Emperor took such great care in the main Affairs of the State, he was no less busily employ'd about the Building of the City and other Places: And whereas *Rome* had lost much of its Splendor and Magnificence by the late Ruins and Conflagration, he much hasten'd the re-edifying of all former Structures; and if the Proprietor neglected to build in any competent Time, he permitted any other Person that pleas'd, to enter and take Possession of the Ground where they stood. But the *Capitol* was his principal Concern, in the rebuilding of which, for the greater Encouragement to others, he himself was the first that began the Work, and carry'd out the first Rubbish upon his own Shoulders, causing his Nobility to follow his Example; by which means he caus'd it to be finish'd in a short Time, and that more beautiful and stately than ever it had been. He moreover rais'd several new Edifices of great Charge and Magnificence, particularly the Temple of *Peace* before-mention'd, not far from the great *Forum*; and the Temple of *Claudius* upon Mount *Caelius*, which had been begun by the Empress *Agrippina*, but was almost entirely demolish'd by *Nero*. He built besides a most stately

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Temple to the Goddess *Pallas*, the Workmanship of which was so rich and exquisite, that it surpass'd all that *Rome* ever saw: In the Paintings, Carvings, and Inlayings, the most excellent Workmen in the World, whose Arts were at the highest, shew'd their great Skill, and left Memorials of their Fame: And *Josephus* assures us, that Men came from all Parts of the World to view the Riches and Rarities of this Temple. He also built a famous Amphitheatre in the midst of the City, of singular and admirable Workmanship, the Ruines and Relicks of which remain to this Day. It was a noble Building of wonderful Largeness and Magnificence, round in Form, as if two Theatres were join'd together like two half Circles, in the Middle of which were represented famous Shews, Spectacles, Wrestlings, Fightings with wild Beasts, and Combats of Gladiators; and all Things were form'd and contriv'd with so much Art, that the Seats were capable of an infinite number of People, without any Hindrance or Inconvenience to each other. As the late Fires had destroy'd many Records relating to the Publick, he undertook to restore Three Thousand Tables of Brass which had been burnt, having with great Pains and Industry found out their true Copies. These were in some sort the Registers of the Empire, in which were Recorded all Decrees of the Senate, all Ordinances of the People, all Treaties, Alliances, and Privileges granted to any Person or Corporation whatsoever, and all remarkable Occurrences from the very first Foundation of the City. In these and the like Works he expended vast Sums of Money.

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The good Emperor was not only mindful of the Establishment and Restoration of the City, but he likewise extended his great Care to the speedy re-edifying of all other ruinous Cities and publick Buildings in the Empire, many of which were finish'd with great Cost and Beauty, the Walls fortify'd and Avenues secur'd with no less Skill and Industry. He built also many Cities and Towns in several Parts of the *Roman* Dominions; and with a mighty Charge caus'd the *Flaminian* Mountains to be made hollow and cut down on both Sides, and a commodious Way made to pass through them. For the several Provinces of the Empire, *Vespasian* took care of their Establishment with great Prudence and Vigour; and like a Prince, and excellent Governour, settled all Affairs to the Honour of the *Roman* State, and the Tranquility of the Inhabitants. He made great Alterations in many Parts of his Dominions, in which he often met with many Troubles and Difficulties, but most of all from *Antiochus*, King of *Comagena*, in the fourth Year of his Reign; who, together with his Son *Epiphanes*, was accus'd by *Cæserinius Pætus*, Governour of *Syria*, of holding private Correspondence with *Vologesus*, King of *Parthia*, *Pætus* representing to the Emperor, *That if this Matter was not timely prevented, it might shortly come to an open Revolt, which might give Disturbance to the whole Roman Empire.* Whereupon *Vespasian* gave Orders to *Pætus* to proceed as he thought expedient; and shortly after this Governour invaded the Province of *Comagena* with a considerable Force, where he met with no great Resistance: For *Antiochus* fearing too much to exasperate a powerful Nation, after some few Marches, quitted his Country, and fled with his Wife and Daughters into *Cilicia*, which

which so discourag'd his Army, that despairing to preserve his Kingdom, they joyn'd with the Romans. His two Sons, after some vigorous Struggles and Efforts, finding no Security in their Father's Country, fled into *Parthia* to *Vologesus*. But *Antiochus* found no Security in *Cilicia*, for *Pætus* shortly after caus'd him to be Arrested, and sent him bound towards *Rome*; but *Vespasian* generously prevented all ill Treatment towards the King, considering more the ancient Friendship between them, than any Offences which gave occasion to this War, and therefore he caus'd him to be loos'd, and to continue some time at *Lacedæmon*, where he allow'd him a Revenue suitable to his Royal Dignity. This unexpected Usage caus'd his Sons to use the Mediation of *Vologesus* to procure a Reconciliation with the Emperor, which prov'd so effectual, that both Father and Sons were shortly after sent for to *Rome*, where they were courteously receiv'd, and remain'd there in great Splendor and Honour. But they lost their Dominions; for the Kingdom of *Comagena* from thence forward became a Province of the *Roman Empire*.

About the same time the Eastern Parts of the Empire were in some Consternation by reason of a dangerous Irruption of the *Alani*, a barbarous People of the *Scythians* inhabiting about the River *Tanais* and the Lake *Mæotis*, who in vast numbers abandon'd their own barren Country, and by the Assistance of the King of *Hyrcania*, invaded the Kingdom of *Media*. There having made great Devastations in this populous and opulent Country, they forc'd *Pacorus*, the King, to betake himself to his strongest Town, where, with great Difficulty, he redeem'd his Wife and Concubines with a hundred Talents. From thence these formidable People pass'd into the Kingdom of *Armenia*,

The second Irruption of the Northern Nations.

A. D. 73.

nia, where, after great Ravages, *Tiridates* the King met them with a considerable Army. But in the first Encounter *Tiridates* was Overthrown, and, with extraordinary Hazards, escap'd, being taken alive in Battel; for having cast a Rope about his Neck, they were dragging him amongst his Enemies, but he happily cut the Rope in pieces with his Sword, and fled. The dangerous Success and Progress of this barbarous Nation so alarm'd the Roman State, that *Vespasian* thought fit to send his Son *Titus* to chastise their Insolence, and relieve a King that was his Vassal and Ally. *Titus* with a powerful Force march'd as far as the City of *Anrioch*, when the Report of so Potent an Enemy, and so expert a Commander, so terrify'd their confus'd and undisciplin'd Armies, that they soon retir'd into their own Country, carrying away vast numbers of Men and Cattel. This is the second memorable Irruption of the Northern barbarous Nations, some of which, in after Ages, over-ran and ruin'd the Roman Empire.

In the mean time *Vespasian* still proceeded in the great Affairs of the State with all the Wisdom and Vigour of a mighty Emperor, and all the Kindness and Clemency of a merciful good-natur'd Man. His Courtesy and Clemency appear'd constantly both in his Publick Administration and his private Affairs; so that scarce one innocent Person was punish'd throughout his whole Reign: If any suffer'd, it was wholly without his Design and Knowledge. He always shew'd himself very different from several of his Predecessors; for he was so far from indulging himself in the Destruction of any Man, that he could not so much as look upon the Sufferings of a Criminal, without signifying his Compassion by his Sighs and his Tears. *Helvidius Priscus* the

the Prætor, the only Person that saluted him by the bare Name of *Vespasian*, after his Return from *Syria*, and one who made no mention of the Emperor in his Edicts publish'd during his Office, cou'd not provoke him by these open Affronts; till at length in his most insolent Altercations he endeavour'd to make him no better than an ordinary Man: Yet after all, tho' he was banish'd before, and Orders issu'd out afterwards for his Execution, the Emperor sent to countermand all Proceedings against him, and wou'd have undoubtedly preserv'd him, had he not been deceiv'd with a false Intelligence of his Execution before the Arrival of his Messengers. But the most remarkable Criminal in this Reign was *Julius Sabinus*, who audaciously proclaim'd himself to be *Cæsar*, and accordingly took up Arms to vindicate his Title; but was at length suppress'd, and brought Prisoner to *Rome*. Several Intercessions were made to the Emperor for his Pardon, and his Wife appearing in Mourning at Court, with her two young Sons, pleaded for her Family after this manner; O *Cæsar*, *I have brought forth these Infants, and gave 'em Nourishment to encrease the number of your Supplicants, and to enlarge the Bounds of your Clemency.* This Speech so affected the good Emperor, as to draw Tears from him, and to save her and her Children; but it cou'd not procure the Pardon of her Husband, who had been a dangerous Rival and Opposer.

In his more private Affairs he always made himself very easie to his Subjects, and became very Courteous and Affable to all sorts of People, permitting them to use any kind of Freedom with him. He was so far from concealing the Meanness of his former Condition, that he frequently

discours'd of it himself; and when some particular Persons, in a pompous and plausible manner pretended to derive his Pedigree from the very Founders of *Reate*, and the Companion of *Hercules*, he despis'd and derided them as a just Reward for their Flatteries. He had so small a Respect for Titles, that he wou'd not accept of that of *Pater Patriæ* but with great Difficulty; and when the King of *Parthia* had writ thus to him, *Arfaces King of Kings*, to *Flavius Vespasian*, he, without reprehending his Pride, or resenting the Affront, directed his Answer thus, *Flavius Vespasian*, to *Arfaces King of Kings*, to show that such Trifles were beneath the regard of an Emperor. He shew'd a remarkable Civility and Familiarity towards all Men, and was rarely angry or mov'd at the Liberties of his Friends, the Gibes and Reflections of the Lawyers, or the downright Rudeness of Philosophers; of which *Suetonius* mentions some particular Instances. *Licinius Mucianus*, a Person scandalous for his unnatural Impurity, presuming upon his Merits, and carrying himself insolently and irreverently, the Emperor never rebuk'd him but in private; and having once complain'd of his Crimes to a common Friend to both of them, he came in with this conclusion, *Still I am a Man*. When an Advocate call'd *Salvius Liberalis*, in the Defence of a Wealthy Person, had the Impudence to say before him, *If my Client be worth an hundred Millions of Sesterces, what is that to Cæsar*. *Vespasian* was so far from being disgusted at it, that he gave him particular Thanks for using that freedom. After the Philosophers had been banish'd the City, *Demetrius*, the *Cynick*, meeting him upon the Road, wou'd not vouchsafe to shew him any kind of Respect, but proceeded so far in his Irreverence, as to Revile him openly;

openly ; but the Emperor inflicted no other Punishment, than barely to stile him by the Title of *Dog*, alluding to the Name of his Sect.

Such was the course of *Vespasian's* Administration, so as to preserve himself from all kinds of Sowerness and Uneasiness ; and likewise from all kinds of Jealousies and Suspicions. And for that Reason his Resentment either of sudden Offences, or of old Animosities, was so small, that he marry'd the Daughter of his Predecessor *Vitellius*, his inveterate Enemy, into a noble Family, and generously gave her a rich Dower, and all Accoutrements suitable to her Birth and Quality. Notwithstanding his great Generosity and Clemency, many Plots and Conspiracies were form'd against him, in which he generally shew'd very little Concern ; for he often pass'd by the Treason of such as conspir'd his Destruction, saying, *That they were all blind and inconsiderate, not knowing what a Weight and Burden the Empire was* : And for the former Custom of searching such as came to salute or speak with the Emperor, he left that off before the Civil Wars were ended. He regarded these Matters the less, by reason of the great Confidence he had in his own Fate and his Children, insomuch, that he declar'd in open Senate, *That either his Sons shou'd succeed him in the Empire, or no Body*. He was so far from being carry'd away by Suspicion, or Dread, to the Destruction of any Person, that when he was seriously advis'd by his Friends to beware of *Metius Pomposianus*, whom they had strong reason to suspect ; he, contrary to all their Opinions, rais'd him to the Dignity of Consul shortly after, assuring them, *That the Time wou'd come when he must be sensible of so great a Benefit*. He sought no Revenge for those many Affronts which had been put upon him in *Nero's*

Reign; and particularly, an Usher coming to beg his Pardon after he was Emperor, for rudely thrusting him out of his Room, and bidding him go hang himself in the time of his Misfortunes, *Vespasian* was provok'd no further than to bid him be gone almost in the same Terms he had us'd towards him.

Notwithstanding this Emperor's Clemency and Forgiveness appear'd in almost all Cases, he never was mild in passing by scandalous Enormities, but was strict and severe in restraining and reprehending of Vice; which may be said to be his last great Stroke in his re-establishing the *Roman* Empire. He found that the Manners of the Citizens were deplorably vitiated and corrupted by all Kinds of Luxury; to put a Check to their Debaucheries, he prevail'd with the Senate to make a Decree, That what Woman soever, who join'd her self to another Person's Servant, shou'd finally lose her own Liberty, and become a Vassal her self. To reform the Corruptions of Usurers, and the Looseness of Youth, he ordain'd, That no Usurer shou'd recover any Money of Young Heirs, if it was lent to be repaid with Advantage upon the Decease of their Fathers. He made many other strict Laws for the Restraining of Lewdness; and as he was severe in punishing of Vice, so he was no less remarkable for rewarding all Kinds of Merits, in which he extended his Liberality to all Sorts of People, compleating the Estates, and settling Pensions upon all indigent Senators and Consular Persons, when their Wants proceeded from no manifest Crime of theirs. But his more particular Bounty he express'd towards the Professors of all Arts and Sciences; and settled a constant Salary of a hundred thousand *Sesterces* upon the Teachers of Rhetorick,

to

to be paid Yearly out of the Exchequer. He indeed banish'd many of the Philosophers from the City, by reason of their excessive Insolence; but was always a true and hearty Encourager of Learning and Learned Men. He entertain'd *Josephus*, the famous Writer of the *Jewish Wars* and *Antiquities*, with great Civility, honour'd him with a Statue, and highly applauded his Writings; tho' all were not finish'd in his Reign. At this Time flourish'd *Pliny* the Elder, an eminent Natural Historian, *Quintilian* the renown'd Orator, and many other Persons of great Learning, who were highly esteem'd by this Emperor. He was no less an Encourager of all other Excellencies in Art, and invited the greatest Masters and Artificers from all Parts of the World, by his bountiful Allowances, making likewise considerable Presents to 'em, as he found Occasion. An ingenious Engineer undertaking to remove certain Columns of vast Weight into the *Capitol*, at a small Charge, was well rewarded for the Invention, and his Performance excus'd, the Emperor telling him, *That he shou'd let the Poor live.*

Yet all his numerous Acts of Generosity and Magnificence cou'd not preserve him from the Scandal of Avarice and Rapacioufness, of which he gave many publick Testimonies, some of which were below the Dignity of an Emperor. *Suetonius* tells us, That he was not content to revive the old Impositions which had been remitted under *Galba*, to add new and more grievous Tributes to several of the Provinces; but he also drove a Trade publickly, which wou'd have been dishonourable to a private Person, bartering and buying Commodities, that he might sell 'em to advantage. Some believ'd that it was his Custom to advance the most griping and rapacious of his

Officers to the most profitable Charges, to make use of them as Sponges, and to squeeze them when they were become rich. He descended to some very unusual and dishonourable Imposts, even to the laying an Excise upon Persons Urine. This caus'd his Son *Titus* to remonstrate to him the Baseness of such an Invention; but *Vespasian* immediately took some of the first Money that came from that Excise, and holding it to his Son, demanded, *if the Smell offended him? And yet, proceeded he, this comes all out of the Urine.* For this and all other his severe Imposts, Authors do much excuse him, by Reason of the great Necessities of the State, and Emptiness of the Exchequer, when he came first to the Government. For he then declar'd publickly in the Senate, *That for the Subsistence and Re-establishment of the Common-wealth, he wanted a Supply of Forty Millions of Sesteriums.* An incredible Sum, exceeding Three hundred Millions of our Money. This is the more readily believ'd and acknowledg'd, because he always employ'd his Revenue to great and noble Purposes, and laid it out with great Wisdom and Liberality. His Publick Works and Edifices were highly chargeable and expensive; his Presents and Pensions were numerous, and not without Profuseness; and his Feasts and Entertainments were frequent and magnificent, according to his Quality: And in all things he acted principally to the Peace and Honour of his Subjects in general; so that by his daily considering of their Good, the nearer he approach'd the End of his Days, the more he encreas'd the hearty Love and Respect of the whole Senate and People.

The great Changes and new Establishments he made in the Provinces and Tributary Kingdoms before his Death, were very remarkable; many
of

of which he reduc'd to a fuller Subjection to the Roman State than ever they had been before. Besides *Judea* and *Comagena*, before particulariz'd, he reduc'd the Kingdoms of *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, and *Cilicia*, in *Asia*, which before had their own proper Kings, to Provinces of the Empire: In *Europe* he did the like to the Kingdoms of *Achaia* and *Thracia*, the Islands of *Rhodes* and *Samos*, together with the great City of *Byzantium*, and many other Places. *Aur. Victor* tells us, That this Emperor new form'd and establish'd a thousand Nations, who scarcely before were reckon'd to be two hundred, the greatest Part of them being extinguish'd by the Cruelty of former Tyrants. As to the Particulars and Occasions of all these Acts, Historians have been too short and imperfect; tho' we have Reason to presume from the rest of the Actions of this Emperor, that his Conquests and Reductions were not without good Grounds or very plausible Pretensions. As no Provinces in the Empire lay out of his View and Care, so in all his Reign he had a particular Regard to *Britain*, as a Nation that added much Glory and Renown to the Roman Empire. He first sent *Petilius Cerealis* to be Governor in those Parts, who bravely entred the Country of the *Brigantes*, the most Northern and numerous People in that Province; to whom he gave many and signal Defeats, and either ravag'd or conquer'd the greatest Part of their Territories. So that *Cerealis* seem'd to have eclips'd the Fame and Conduct of any that cou'd come after him; when *Julius Frontinus*, a great Man, and as eminent as cou'd be expected after such a Predecessor, succeeded by *Vespasian's* Order in the same Charge, with no less Glory. For he subdu'd the strong and war-like Nation of the *Silures*, the Inhabitants of *South-*

Wales ; where he had not only a potent Enemy to encounter, but also almost insuperable Difficulties from the Nature and Situation of the Country. In the last Year of *Vespasian's* Reign, *Frontinus* was succeeded by *Julius Agricola*, a Commander of great Fame both for Valour and Conduct, who enter'd upon the most memorable Expedition that had ever been known in *Britain*, continuing about seven or eight Years, and succeeding with great Reputation and Renown. But nothing of great Note was perform'd by him in this Reign.

Vespasian being now in his Ninth Consulship, and his Son *Titus* in his Seventh, and having done many great and noble Acts to the happy Settlement of the Empire, he was surpriz'd at *Campania* with some light Motions of a Distemper, when immediately he cry'd out, according to the Emotions of his Pagan Principles, *Merhinks I am going to be a God*. His Indisposition caus'd him to remove to the City, from whence he retir'd to *Custylia*, and an Estate he had about *Reate*, which he usually visited every Summer. In this Place, notwithstanding the Encrease of his Distemper, he gave himself up to the Affairs of the Empire as formerly ; but having corrupted his Entrails by the Use of Cold Water, he was after some time suddenly taken with a Flux, which soon brought him to such Weakness, as he was ready to faint ; when of a sudden he cry'd out with his former Courage and Bravery, *An Emperor ought to die standing on his Feet* ; and raising himself up, he expir'd in the Hands of those that sustain'd him ; his Death being highly lamented, and his Memory gratefully preserv'd by all the Great and Wise Men in the Empire. Thus dy'd *Flavius Vespasian*, the Tenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the Sixty ninth Year of his Age, after a laborious Reign of Ten Years,

The Death of
Vespasian.

Years, or very near; a Prince of great Wisdom, Moderation and Modesty, next *Julius Cæsar* in War, and to *Augustus* in Peace; one whom Providence seem'd to have rais'd on purpose to restore so vast an Empire as *Rome*, and save it from sinking; and one whom *Pliny* said, *That Greatness and Majesty had chang'd nothing in him; but only to make his Power of doing Good answerable to his Will.* He was the Second Roman Emperor that dy'd a natural Death, and the first that was succeeded by his own Son. He dy'd in the 832 Year of the City, A. D. 79. it being 123 Years after the Beginning of the Empire by *Julius Cæsar*, and 105 after the Settlement of it by *Augustus*.

CHAP. VI.

From the Death of Vespasian, to the Death of Domitian, the twelfth Emperor, which ended the Family of the Vespasians, and the twelve Cæsars.

Containing the Space of near 17 Years.

UPON the Decease of the great *Vespasian*, A. D. 79. his eldest Son *Titus* was universally receiv'd and obey'd as Emperor; both for being his Father's Associate in the Empire, and likewise his being appointed his Successor by his last Will and Testament: Only his ambitious Brother *Domitian* made some Opposition, insolently maintaining, *That his Father had nominated him, and that his Brother Titus had falsify'd his Will*; but his Plea having but a Weak Foundation, soon fell for

Titus made Emperor.

for want of a Support. *Titus* was now near 39 Years of Age, a Person of uncommon Excellencies and Accomplishments, both as to the Perfections of his Body, and the Ornaments of his Mind. He had serv'd in many Wars and Expeditions, with great Honour and Renown, and discharg'd many Offices in the State with no less Wisdom and Understanding. Yet notwithstanding his many Vertues and Deserts, he had not liv'd free from several Crimes and Vices, which brought many Accusations and Aspersions upon him in his Fathers Reign. His Severity to some particular Persons, and his countenancing the Assassination of *A. Cæcinnus* and some others, for exciting the Soldiers to Sedition, gain'd him the Hatred of many. Besides his Cruelty, he was decry'd also for his Voluptuousness and Luxury, for his frequent Spinning out his Treats and Collations with the most profuse and dissolute of his Friends, till Midnight and after. Nor was he less accus'd for his Lust upon many Accounts, and particularly for his extraordinary Passion for Queen *Berenice*, Sister to King *Agrippa* of *Judea*, to whom by Report, he had promis'd Marriage, but perform'd it not by reason of the Hatred of the People. He was suspected also of Rapine and Extortion, in relation to his Father's new Impositions, upon whose Account he was willing to bear part of the Odium. And more than all, he was not only look'd upon privately as a second *Nero*, but likewise pronounc'd so publicly by the People; so that scarce ever any Man arriv'd at the Empire with a more sully'd Reputation, or a greater Repugnancy of the People of *Rome*.

But in a very short time after his Entrance upon the Government, these Calumnies and Accusations

sations turn'd all to his Praise and Advantage; and his Vertues and Graces became so bright and perspicuous, as to disperse all Doubts and Suspitions, and to make him gain that Reputation under the Burden and Envy of an Empire, which he cou'd not obtain under the Freedom of a private Person. After this he had so much Skill and Address, together with so much good Fortune in gaining upon the Hearts and Affections of all People, so as to be generally Stil'd *The Love and Delight of Mankind*. His first Step towards the gaining the Hearts of his Subjects, and his happy Government of the Empire, was his moderating his Passions, and bridling his strong Inclinations; one great Instance of which, was his withdrawing himself from the Company of his beautiful Queen *Berenice*, and his sending her away, notwithstanding their mutual and passionate Loves, and all out of the great Respect he bore to the Senate and ^speople of *Rome*. He also discharg'd several Persons who were the chief Instruments of his Delights and Recreations, rightly judging them to be unbecoming the Majesty and Dignity of his Office. He not only forbore to countenance and caress his Company of Dancers; which he had formerly chosen with great Skill, but also to see them in any publick Assembly; tho' he was still a great Incourager of publick Games and Manly Pastimes. In all these Matters, he shew'd such a happy Mixture of firm Resolution and humble Modesty, that of him it was said, *That if ever any Man truly abstain'd from what was his own, he was the Person*. He was not thus only in respect to himself, but likewise to all others, for he never took any Thing from a Citizen, and was so little addicted to desire other Men's Properties, that he wou'd not receive the usual

usual Presents and Contributions which were his due : Yet none of his Predecessors was more truly liberal and munificent than he.

The first Publick Act he did, was a general Confirmation and Ratification of many Rewards and Privileges which had been granted by several of his Predecessors, not considering an Order of *Tiberius*, by which Succeeding Emperors might refuse to confirm their Predecessors Grants ; so that when they did confirm 'em, it was commonly with such Formality, as if they were the first and only Donors : But *Titus* without those Formalities, confirm'd all by one general Edict, and was the first Emperor that observ'd that Method. After this he proceeded with all Wisdom and Diligence in the great Affairs of the publick, and particularly in the regulating and reforming of several Mischiefs which had not been perfected in his Father's Reign ; amongst which that of *Informers*, *Promoters* and *Pettiggers* was very notorious, who had their Rise from the Licentiousness and Impunity of former Reigns, and daily increasing in Corruptions, they became the Cause and Fomenters of all Kinds of Heats and Dissentions. Of these *Titus* made daily and publick Examples, condemning them to be scourg'd and beaten with Clubs in the main *Forum*, then to be dragg'd through the Theater, and at last part to be sold as Slaves, and part to be transported to uninhabited Islands, till he had utterly exterminated those Pests of the City. To put a further Stop than his Father had done to the Corruptions and Tedioufness of Law-Suits, he prohibited among other Things, that the same Case shou'd be try'd by several Laws ; or that any one shou'd inquire into the Estate of any dead Person after a set and precise Number of Years.

He

He was no less active than his Father in repairing of ancient Buildings, and erecting of new; and after he had dedicated the famous Amphitheatre, and with admirable Expedition finish'd the Baths hard by, he exhibited many Shews which were very Sumptuous and Magnificent. He presented also the People with a Naval Battel, in the old *Naumachia*, as also a Prize by his Gladiators in the same Place; and in one Day he caus'd 5000 Wild Beasts of all Kinds to be baited for the Satisfaction of the Citizens. In these and in all other Cases, he treated the People with exceeding Kindness and Affability, and having design'd to give them the Diversion of the Gladiators, he order'd it to be proclaim'd, *That all Things shou'd be exhibit'd not according to his own Fancy, but the Pleasure of the Spectators*; and he was so far from refusing what they desir'd, that he earnestly solicited them to declare their Minds. Moreover his Complaisance was so great, that tho' in his Judgment he was for one Party of the Gladiators, yet he many times joyn'd both in Voice and Gesture with the Opinion of the People; Yet still so as to retain the Majesty of an Emperor, and to do no Injustice in the Distribution of the several Prizes. And that he might not be deficient in any Point of Popularity, he permitted the common Sort to have Access into his Baths, while he was bathing himself. His Liberality, Courtesie, and Readiness to do Good, have been observ'd and applauded by Writers in all Ages; and even St. *Augustine* stil'd him by the Title of a *most sweet Prince*. One of his principal Methods was never to send away any Petitioner with an unpleasing Answer, nor without some Hopes of Success; and thereupon being advertis'd by some of his Council, *That he promis'd more than he seem'd able*

to perform, he made Answer, *That no Man ought to depart sorrowful from the Presence of a Prince*; an Answer that shew'd him to be all Mercy and Goodness. He was naturally so desirous of doing Good, and of assisting others in all kinds of Necessities, that one Night being told that he had done nothing for any Person that Day, he with a heavy Countenance, express'd his Dissatisfaction in this Memorable Apophthegm, *Amici, Diem perdidisti, My Friends, I have lost a Day*; a Sentence worthy of an Emperor, and to be retain'd in the Memory of all Princes.

The whole Rule and Government of this Emperor, was Mild and Merciful, so as to receive no Accusation against such as censur'd and abus'd him; for he usually said, *When I do nothing worthy of Censure, I regard not Calumnies*. He was so tender of the Lives of his Subjects, that when he enter'd upon the Office of *Pontifex Maximus*, he solemnly protested, *That he did it to keep his Hands pure and undefiled from Blood*; from which time he never was either Author or accessary to any Mans Death, tho' he wanted not Occasion for executing his Revenge; affirming, *That he had rather die himself, than put another to Death*. Of this great Clemency, there was a remarkable Instance: Two of the *Patritian* Degree being convicted of Treason, and aspiring to the Empire, he made use of no Torments or Inquisitions, nor inflicted any Punishment, but only privately admonish'd 'em to desist, mildly telling them, *That the Empire was given by Providence, and that it was in Vain to commit a Villany either in Hopes of obtaining it, or through Fear to be disappointed of it: But for any thing else, they might command what he cou'd grant*. At the same Time he dispatcht a Messenger to one of their Mothers to ease her of her Fears, and to assure

assure her, *That her Son was out of all Danger*; and, as if this was not a sufficient Instance of his Generosity, he not only entertain'd them at Supper with himself that Night, but the next Day at a Spectacle of Gladiators, he plac'd them by himself, and when the Combitants Weapons were according to Custom presented to him, he publicly desir'd their Judgment and Approbation. His Carriage was no less remarkable towards his Brother *Domitian*, who was continually conspiring against his Person, and as often incensing the Legions and Cohorts against him, Soliciting them to a Defection, in order to which he had prepar'd all Matters for an open Rebellion. Yet notwithstanding all these Provocations and Dangers, he wou'd not be perswaded, either to execute, banish or discountenance him by diminishing his former Honours; but on the contrary, he comported himself towards him as at first, giving him the Title of *Associate* and *Successor*, and with Tears privately entreating him, *Not to attempt that by Treason and Fratricide, which he shortly shou'd obtain freely and in Course; therefore he desir'd, That at length they might live amicably like Brothers.*

In the short Reign of this Emperor, there hapned some Misfortunes and Calamities no less unexpected than deplorable: The first was a dreadful and almost incredible Eruption of the Flames of Mount *Vesuvius* in *Campania*, which after it had ruin'd many Cities and a vast Tract of Land, the Ashes were carry'd through the Air into many distant Nations. At this Mount *Pliny* the Elder, and famous natural Historian, then Admiral of the *Roman* Navy, being desirous to discover the Reason of this wonderful Accident, by his too near Approaching it, was suffocated in the smok,
as

as his Nephew testifies. Besides this terrible Calamity, there hapned a Fire in *Rome*, which lasted three Days, and as many Nights incessantly; and likewise a dangerous Pestilence, in which there commonly dy'd ten Thousand every Day. Nevertheless in all these Miseries, *Titus* behav'd himself not only with the Care and Regard of a Prince, but likewise with the Tendernefs and Compassion of a Father, comforting the distress'd with his reviving Edicts, and assisting them as his own Revenues wou'd permit him. He chose such Persons by suffrage, as had been Consuls before, to take upon them the Charge of seeing the Ruins in *Campania* repaired; and such Goods and Estates as were found pertaining to Persons which had perish'd by the said Mountain, and had dy'd without Heirs, he commanded shou'd be employ'd towards the Building of those Cities and Towns which had suffer'd. In relation to the Burning of the City, he publicly declar'd, *That he wou'd take the whole loss of that upon himself*; and accordingly he design'd all the Ornaments and Furniture belonging to his own Palaces to the Re-adornment of the Temples, and publick Buildings of the City: And that all Things might be effected with more Certainty and Expedition, he commission'd severall *Roman* Knights to see all his Commands executed. Then to remedy the Pestilence, and to abate the Malignity of that Distemper, there were no Methods either human or divine that he neglected; having sought out all sorts of Remedies, and all Kinds of Sacrifices which he thought might be of any imaginable Use.

While *Titus* was thus busily employ'd in the Affairs of a calamitous tho' peaceful Empire, *Agri-cola*, his renown'd Lieutenant in *Britain*, proceed-ed in his famous Expedition with admirable Success,

cess, both in reducing and civilizing that Nation. He had enter'd *Britain* in the Reign of *Vespasian*, a short time before whose Arrival, the *Ordovices*, the Inhabitants of *North-Wales*, had almost intirely destroy'd a Wing of the *Roman* Legions; by which Means the rest of the conquer'd Nations were all ready for a Revolt, either out of Desire of Liberty, or to see the Worth of the new Lieutenant. *Agricola*, tho' the Season was far advanc'd, with great Celerity gather'd together his scatter'd Troops and Auxiliaries, and march'd towards these formidable People, who kept themselves in Places of Advantage, and durst not descend into indifferent Ground. He therefore with great Bravery placing himself foremost, advanc'd towards them with his Army, and being seconded with the Skill and Courage of his veterane Soldiers, put them all to Flight and Sword, so that the whole Nation was almost extirpated. *Agricola*, finding that all Things were like to succeed according to the Event of his first Actions, immediately determin'd to make himself Master of the Isle *Mona*, or *Anglesey*; but this Design being so suddenly laid, Ships were wanting for the Expedition, which Defect was notwithstanding supply'd by the great Policy and Resolution of the General. He commanded a choice Body of Auxiliaries, who were well acquainted with the Shallows of the Waters, suddenly to pass over, and invade the Island; and these, by the Custom of their Native Country, being able in Swimming to govern themselves, their Horses and Arms, perform'd it so effectually, that the Enemy, who first expected a Fleet, were exceedingly surpriz'd and confounded, as supposing nothing could be hard or invincible to Men that began a War with such Resolution. Whereupon

upon they immediately desir'd Peace, and surrender'd the Island to the Command of *Agricola*, who now became great and famous, as having upon his Enterance, a Time usually spent in Ceremony and Ostentation, encounter'd so much Toil and Hazard with such Success.

Agricola in these prosperous Proceedings of his Fortunes, sought not with any glorious Relations or Letters, to improve and augment the greatness of his Honour; but rather in seeking to suppress the Fame of his Actions, made 'em become more splendent: And then applying himself to Civil Government, he regulated and reform'd many Abuses and Corruptions in his Family, in his Camp, and in the whole Province, and especially those that afflicted the poorer Sort, as Exactions, Encrease of Tributes and Corn, which had been very burdensom to the *Britains*; all which he moderated and levell'd in such a Manner, as they became easie to the Inhabitants. By suppressing these and the like Enormities, he gain'd no less Honour than in the Field, all Persons beginning to entertain an honourable Opinion of their new Governour. And whereas the *Britains*, hitherto harass'd with Oppressions and Wars, had small Leasure or Inclination to apply themselves to Matters that accompany Peace, and to the Ornaments of civil and settled Societies; therefore they were ready for Revolts and Insurrections upon every slight Occasion. The better to induce them by Pleasures to Rest and Quietness, he exhorted them in private, and assisted them in publick to build Temples, Places of Resort, and stately Houses; and likewise provided that the Sons of the Nobility shou'd be carefully instructed in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, commending the Industry, and preferring the

the Parts of the *Britains* before those of the *Gauls*; so that they, who but lately despis'd the *Roman* Language, did now affect and study the Graces of it. From that time also, the *Roman* Modes and Dresses became in request, and the *Gown* commonly wore; proceeding by Degrees to those Incentives to Debauchery, *Portico's*, *Baths* and *Banquets*, which by the Ignorant were term'd Genteelness, when in reality *Tacitus* tells us, they were but the Trappings of their Yoak and Bondage. By these Means *Agricola* brought the *Britains* to a more General Inclination to Peace, which partly by the Negligence, and partly by the Avarice of former Governours, had been no less odious than War it self.

In the following Year, *Agricola*, unsatisfied with his former Conquests, discover'd new Countries and Parts of *Britain* yet untouch'd, or at least not fully subdu'd; and being ambitious of drawing the Confines of the *Roman* Empire into a larger Compass, he marched Northward up to the very Frith of *Taus* or *Tweed*, wasting all as he pass'd, and without Resistance fortify'd the Passages with Castles and Forts, which he stored with sufficient Provisions. By which means every wintring Garrison secured and guarded it self, and with the Summer Service, ever repaired the Winters Miscarriages; which continually disappointed the Enemy, so that *Agricola* had all the Success he cou'd desire. The following Summer he spent in ordering and settling what he had over-run; and with such Success, that if the Valour of his Armies, and the Glory of the *Roman* Empire cou'd have permitted it, they needed not have sought any other Boundary in *Britain*. For the Friths of *Glota* and *Bodotria*, *Dumbretton* and *Edenborough*, two Arms of two opposite Seas,

shooting far into the Land, were only divided by a narrow Neck of Land, which *Agricola* had secur'd by Forts and Garrisons; so that the *Romans* were absolute Lords of all the *South-Side*, and had pent up the Enemy as it were within another Island.

For these great Successes and Exploits in *Britain*, *Agricola* not only purchas'd much Fame, but *Titus* also receiv'd great Honours upon his Account, particularly to be saluted *Imperator* the fifteenth time. But he liv'd not to enjoy these Honours, being suddenly snatcht away, to the exceeding Detriment of the World; and to the unexpressible Grief of all his Subjects. Shortly before, at the finishing of certain publick Solemnities, in which he wept plentifully before the People, he retired into the Territories of the *Sabines*, somewhat more Melancholy than formerly, being discourag'd at some unfortunate Omens. In his first Stage he was surpris'd with a burning Fever, and being carry'd afterwards in his Litter, and finding that he must submit to Death, he cou'd not forbear expressing his mighty Unwillingness to depart; and looking up to Heaven, with an unusual Tendernefs complain'd, *That he shou'd be taken away so undeservedly, and protesting that in the whole Course of his Life, he did not know of any Action but one that he ought to repent of, which he did not express.* Shortly after he dy'd upon the Ides of September, in the same Town where his Father dy'd; not without Suspicion of his Brothers Treachery, being now in the 41st Year of his Age, having had but a Short Reign of two Years, as many Months and twenty Days; a Prince too deserving for so corrupt an Age, and one whom *Tacitus* says was capable of any kind of Dignity, in whose Countenance was no less Sweetness

The Death of
Titus.

Sweetness than Majesty. This happen'd 48 Years after our Saviour's Crucifixion; about which Time several dangerous Heresies began to creep into the Church, and corrupt the Purity of the *Christian Faith*.

II. As soon as the Death of *Titus* was known and publish'd, a general Grief and Sadness appear'd in all the City, which in a short time spread it self through all the Provinces to the utmost Bounds of the Empire; this Prince being lamented in all Parts as tho' the World had been deprived of a perpetual Protector. All the Senators, without any legal and regular Convocation, hasten'd to the Senate-House with great Impatience; and shutting the Doors for a time, open'd them again, render'd more Thanks and Acknowledgments, and heap'd upon him more Praises and Encomiums, than ever any Emperor obtain'd, either before or after his Death, placing him also among their Gods; which shows with what great facility, and in how short a time a Prince may gain the Hearts of his Subjects. This great and venerable Respect that all had for him and his Father, caus'd his Brother *Domitian* to succeed him in the Empire, without Opposition or Contradiction, notwithstanding the ill Opinion that many had justly conceiv'd of him, he being now about thirty Years of Age. The Pride and Ambition of this Prince had formerly appear'd in several manifest Instances, which caus'd many to dread his Government; and shortly after his Arrival at the Empire, he insolently declar'd in open Senate, *That it was he who had given it both to his Father and Brother, and that they had but restor'd it to him again.* In the former Part of his Reign his Vices and Enormities were happily temper'd by many wise

A. D. 81.

Domitian
made Emperor.

and good Actions; in which time he spent and employ'd many of his Hours in divers kinds of Recreations and Diversions, particularly in Archery and Gaming, in the former of which he was so wonderfully expert, that out of Glory he wou'd often cause his Page to stand at a great Distance with his Hand spread for a Mark, where he wou'd shoot with that Art as to stick all his Arrows between his Fingers without any Hurt. I must not omit one cruel, tho' despicable Recreation, of which all Authors take notice; which was his usual Custom of retiring an Hour in a Day into his Chamber, in the Beginning of his Reign, where his sole Employment was a ridiculous catching of Flies, and pricking 'em through with a sharp Bodkin; which Custom gave Occasion to *Crispus*, when one enquir'd, whether any Body was with the Emperor, sharply to answer, *Not so much as a Fly.*

The Beginning of his Reign was generally acceptable to the People, at which time he shew'd so great an Abhorrency to all manner of Cruelty and Bloodshed, that he once resolv'd by express Edict to forbid the Sacrificing of Oxen. He also shew'd no signs of Avarice or Parsimony; but on the other side gave frequent Testimonies not only of his Moderation but Liberality, behaving himself very bountifully to all that were about him, inculcating nothing to them so much as to avoid Baseness and Sordidness. Such Inheritances as were left him by Persons who had Children, he wou'd not accept; and refus'd several other Estates; and likewise remitted many Penalties and Tributes which were his Right. He neglected all kind of Literature, which his Father and Brother had highly encourag'd; only he was very careful and liberal in repairing of the Libraries which had been

been burnt, and recovering Copies of such Books as had been lost, sending purposely to *Alexandria* to transcribe and correct them. But he had so great a Hatred to Philosophers, Mathematicians, and Astrologers, that in the second Year of his Reign, he not only banish'd them out of *Rome*, but likewise out of all *Italy*. But in publick Edifices, Shows, and Spectacles, he was no less Ambitious than any of his Predecessors. He rebuilt severall stately and noble Fabricks, which had been destroy'd by the Fire in his Brother's Reign; among the rest the Capitol which had been burnt again: But he was resolv'd to engross the Honour and Glory of it to himself; for he wou'd not permit any Name to be put in the Inscriptions but his own, nor allow the least mention of the Primitive Founder. In the Capitol he erected a new Chapel, which he dedicated to *Jupiter Custos*, as also a *Forum*, or Hall of Justice; and in Honour of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he Instituted three sorts of Contests to be observ'd every five Years, of Musick, Horsmanship, and Wrestling, in which he distributed his Coronets in great Numbers. He likewise built another Temple for the *Flavian* Family, a Course or Lists for Races and Wrestlings, a Musick-House, and many other publick and magnificent Buildings.

The better to obtain the Favour and Applause of the People, *Domitian* Ordain'd many publick Shows and Games which were exhibited with wonderful Pomp and Curiosity. First he caus'd a vast Lake to be digg'd near the River *Tiber*, surrounding it with spacious Wans, and numerous Seats: in which he represented Sea-Fights, by great numbers of Ships, which almost amounted to compleat Fleets, and scarcely differ'd from real Battels. He also frequently exhibited that cruel Sport

Ludi Sæculares.

A. D. 84.

of Gladiators, and gave large Rewards to Chariot-Racers. He had likewise his Turneys, and Battels of Horse-Men and Foot-Men, and Huntings and Baitings of infinite numbers of Wild Beasts, in which he exceeded all his Predecessors; for he caus'd Women, as well as Men, publickly to fight with Wild Beasts. In the third Year of his Reign he caus'd the Celebration of those great Games and Feasts call'd *Secular*, which of all others were far the most solemn and magnificent, and in a regular course cou'd be represented but once in a hundred Years, which was so long since their Celebration by *Augustus*; only *Claudius* had order'd them in his own Reign, without observing Time or Order. In these Solemn and Religious Games he added many Things, and besides had Disputations and Controversies both in *Latin* and *Greek* Prose, as also all kinds of Musicians, Singers and Dancers, together with Virgins for running of Races: In all which Solemnities he distributed great Rewards, sitting President himself magnificently adorn'd with a Purple Robe and Crown, with the Priest of *Jupiter* and College of the *Flavian* Priests about him, with their Coroners. He also promoted all kinds of Tragedies, Comedies and Stage-Plays; and in conclusion, there were made by his Order all those Feasts, Games, and Revels, that ever had been seen or known in *Rome*, besides many which were newly Invented. Among all which he made a Distribution among the whole Body of the *Roman* People of 300 Sesterces to every Person call'd *Congiarium*; and during the time of these Revels, which lasted a considerable Time, he made many sumptuous Banquets and publick Entertainments, and there were thrown among the common People all sorts of Coins, Clothes, and other valuable Things

Things out of Windows, which were call'd *Misfilia*. By which kind of Shows and Benevolences he was greatly esteem'd by the vulgar sort in the former Part of his Reign.

But in some other Matters *Domitian* was more deservedly commended and esteem'd; particularly in his Administration of Justice, in which he was more than ordinary diligent and industrious: He many times sat himself in an extraordinary manner in the Courts, and superseded the partial Sentences of the *Centumviri*: He likewise admonish'd the Commissioners and delegated Judges, not to incline too much to the Rhetorical Perswasions of such as interposed in the behalf of the Slaves and Servants who demanded their Liberty, severely punishing such Judges and Councillors as were corrupt, and acted by Bribes. And in this Matter he was so careful as to encourage the Tribunes himself to accuse a particular *Adile* of Extortion, and to demand Justice against him of the Senate. He was so exact in relation to the Corruptions and Enormities of the City Magistrates, and the several Governors of Provinces, that there was never known more Equity and Modesty among the great Officers, than in his Reign, tho' after his Death most of the same Persons were convict of all manner of Crimes. He pursu'd his Father's and Brother's Designs as to the reforming of tedious Law-Suits; and he discharg'd such as had been sued in the Exchequer five Years before, and had their Suits still depending, not allowing any new Procefs to be made upon that Account, but within a Year's space; and with this particular Caution, that if the Informer made not his Charge good, he shou'd suffer Banishment. He likewise prohibited the Castration of Children; and such as were Eunuchs already, and in the Possession

session of the Merchants, he moderated their Prices, and reduc'd them to a more reasonable Rate. Observing a vast plenty of Wine, and as great a scarcity of Corn the same Year, he concluded, That the great Care in cultivating Vines had caus'd the neglect of Tillage; to prevent which Inconvenience for the future, he by an Edict commanded, That no more Vines should be planted in *Italy*, and that they should be cut down in the Provinces, or at least reduc'd to a Moiety: But he persisted not long in this Resolution. Having taken upon him the Office of *Censor*, and the Regulation of Manners, he reform'd many Abuses in the City; particularly he suppress'd such Libels and defamatory Writings, as any ways reflected upon Persons of Quality of either Sex, and caus'd them to be burnt, adding Disgrace and Infamy to the Authors. He turn'd a Senator out of the House, purely for his immoderate Delight in Buffoonery and Dancing; judging those Qualities below the Dignity of that venerable Order. From such Women as were Scandalous in their Lives, he took away the Privilege of Litters, and their Capacities of Legacies and Inheritance; and struck a *Roman Knight* out of the List of the Judges, for receiving his Wife after she had been repudiate for Adultery. But as for the Whoredoms of the *Vestal Virgins*, which had been accidentally neglected by his Father and Brother, he punish'd without Mercy: Such as were Convicted but once suffer'd Death as ordinary Malefactors; but others were bury'd alive, according to the ancient Custom, and their associate Criminals whipt to Death. These and the like memorable Acts of Justice, have been highly applauded by many; but in most of 'em he us'd such Pride and Elation, and shew'd himself so

excessively Vain-glorious, as gave almost evident Tokens of his future Enormities. He was at present very various by reason of the Equality and Proportion of his Vertues and Vices, till in no long time the latter prevail'd so as to drive him into all kinds of Cruelties and Impieties.

In all the Beginning of this Emperor's Reign, *Agricola* vigorously pursu'd his great Attempts and Enterprizes in *Britain*; and after those memorable Successes in the last Reign, he continu'd his Progress, and with many prosperous Conflicts subdu'd some adjacent Places and People, till then unknown to the *Romans*; and likewise put Garrisons into those Parts of *Britain* which lie towards *Ireland*. After this, suspecting a general Insurrection of the *Calidomians*, those fierce Northern Nations beyond *Bodotria*, in the following Years he mann'd out a Fleet to search out the Creeks and Harbours of that ample Region, and with his Army march'd for the *North*. After various Progressions and Successes, the *Britains*, intent upon nothing but Revenge or Slavery, by Leagues and Treaties muster'd up their whole Power; being at last sensible, that a common Danger must be repell'd by Confederacy and Union. These, as their last Effort, had gather'd together above 30000 Armed Men, besides great numbers of Youth, and lusty Old Men, who formerly had been famous Soldiers, and still retain'd the Scars and Badges of their Bravery. Upon the Approaches of both Armies, all Persons with great Eagerness and Impatience attended the Success of this deciding Battel; and *Galgacus*, both by Birth and Merit Commander of the *Britains*, with a noble Warmth and Courage is said to have spoken to this Effect. *When I consider the Cause of this War, and our present Urgency, I have Reason to*
pre-

*Agricola's
Progress in
Britain.*

presume, that the future Happiness and Freedom of this whole Island will date their Birth from this important Day. For we are the most Valiant Remains of the Britains, seated in the remotest Parts, beyond the Ken of those Nations enslav'd by the Enemy; so that our Eyes are yet unpolluted, and free from the Contagion of Foreign Tyranny; and this secret Recess, unknown to Fame, hath hitherto preserv'd us in all the Blessings of Liberty. Beyond us is no Nation, nothing but Waves and Rocks; on that side, nothing but Bondage and Slavery, which we must expect from the Romans; a People unsatiable in their Lusts, and unbounded in their Ambitions. Those Robbers of the World, and Ravagers of the Universe, now the exhausted Lands can no more furnish their Rapines, endeavour to rifle the wide Seas and Ocean. When they meet with opulent Enemies, their Cruelty proceeds from Avarice; when with Poor, it arises from Ambition. The East and West, vast as they are, cannot satiate their Voracious Minds; they, and they alone, with equal Greediness and Appetite, grasp at the Riches and Poverty of all Nations. Devastations, Murders, and Extirpations, pass with them under the false Names of Empire and Government; and they boast of establishing Peace in those Provinces they have render'd desolate. Our Goods are their Tribute, our Corn their Provision, our Bodies their Tools for all kinds of Drudgery; and if the Modesty of our Wives and Daughters has preserv'd them from open Violence, when they were Enemies, it cannot secure them from their Lascivious Friendship, now they are Guests. Other Slaves, whom Nature and Fortune have destin'd to Servitude, are nourish'd by their Masters; but the Britains alone purchase their own Bondage, and maintain and support their Oppressors. Were our Enemies Courage in War equal to their Debaucheries in Peace, we might justly dread their Arms; but their Glory is all owing to our Dissensions: But our Union will

will dissipate their Forces, which are gather'd out of so many Nations; so that one Miscarriage of theirs will dissolve their Power. In summ, there you see Tributes and Slavery, here Death or Liberty; therefore let us remember the Glory of our Ancestors, and consider the Happiness of our Posterity.

This Speech being vehemently deliver'd, was receiv'd with barbarous Songs, and confus'd Acclamations; while *Agricola* on the other side encourag'd his Men with all the Force and Charms of the *Roman* Eloquence, and fearing to be flank'd by reason of the Enemies Numbers, he drew out his Front in the utmost length, and advanc'd himself at the Head of his Foot. The Battel began at some distance, wherein the *Britains* shew'd great Art and Courage, by means of their broad Swords and short Bucklers, with which they bore off the Darts of the Enemies, and pour'd in upon them with showers of their own. To prevent which Inconveniency, *Agricola* order'd the *Batavian* and *Tungrian* Cohorts to advance against them with their sharp-pointed Bucklers, which render'd their pointless Swords unserviceable, and so mangled their Faces that they were oblig'd to retire with great Precipitation. This Advantage being seconded by the Emulation of the other Cohorts, who furiously bore down all before them; and being many Ways back'd and supported by the great Skill of their General, the *Britains* were at last dispers'd; whilst many unarm'd ran desperately upon the Swords of their Enemies, others tho' arm'd betook themselves to Flight, leaving a Field dismally strew'd with heaps of Arms, Carcasses, mangled Limbs and Blood. Night and Weariness put an end to the Chace, and Victory made it pleasant to the Conquerors; but the *Britains*, both Men and Women, want-

wandering in a deplorable manner, spent the Night in calling their lost Friends, carrying off the Wounded, in burning their Houses out of Rage and Fury, and shifting from one Hole to another. Sometimes they consulted with each other and conceiv'd some Hopes; then again they were broke with Compassion, and oftner with Madness at the sight of their Wives and Children, several of which they destroy'd out of Pity, to prevent their future Miseries. This Victory put a stop to all future Resistance, and *Agricola* sending out his Fleet along the Coasts, they first discover'd *Britain* to be an Island; and at the same time found out the Isles of *Orkney*, and subdued them, which had only been heard of till that time. And thus after many Struggles and Conflicts, about 138 Years after *Julius Caesar's* first Entrance, the utmost Limits of *Britain*, and the *Orcades* beyond it, were by the Valour and Industry of *Agricola* made known to the *Romans*; and the greatest part of the Isle reduc'd into an entire and civiliz'd Province in the fourth Year of *Domitian's* Reign, the Government of which was ever annex'd and appropriated to the *Roman* Emperors themselves, and no ways to the disposal of the Senate.

*Britain's final
Reduction.*

A. D.

85.

Agricola having sent a plain Account of these Transactions, without any amplifying Terms, to *Domitian*, whose Vices and Impieties began more openly to display themselves, his Letters were receiv'd with an open shew of great Joy, tho' in Reality with as much Trouble and Concern. For he was conscious to himself, That his late *German* Triumph was both unjust and ridiculous; having bought certain Slaves of that Country, and dress'd them in the Habit of Captives to adorn the Solemnity; whereas now a great and real Victory of

of many Thousands slain and subdu'd became current in every Man's Mouth. It was dangerous, he thought, That the Honour of a Private Person shou'd eclipse the Glory of a Prince; and that he had in vain suppress'd the study of Oratory and other popular Arts, if another cou'd thus surpass him in the Art of War. Being tormented with these Thoughts, and musing of it in his Closet, a general Forerunner of Cruelty with this Prince, he concluded it most convenient to conceal his Resentments till the Fame of these Victories, and the Heat and Esteem of the Soldiers were somewhat abated. Therefore he took care that Triumphal Ornaments, Statues, and other Honours shou'd be decreed him, and that in very honourable Terms by the Senate; and to remove him from *Britain*, caus'd a Report to be spread, That the Lieutenantcy of *Syria*, then vacant by the Death of *Atilius Rufus*, and reserv'd for Persons of the highest Rank, was design'd for him. By which Politick Contrivance this worthy Commander was displac'd from his Lieutenantcy in *Britain*, the Province being surrender'd in a peaceable Condition to *Sallustius Lucullus*, and that of *Syria* dispos'd of otherwise. That his Entry into *Rome* might be obscure and private, he came into the City by Night, as he was order'd; and by Night was admitted into the Palace, where the Emperor receiv'd him with a short and silent Salutation; from whom he quickly drew off among the rest of the Attendants. After which, to prevent further Inconveniencies, he gave himself up to a retir'd and unactive Life; notwithstanding his Death some Years after was not without suspicion of Poyson by *Domitian's* Directions.

Thus

Thus did this Emperor treat his principal Commander *Agricola* ; a manifest sign of an unprosperous Reign, when Princes become regardless and jealous of their Subjects best Services. He shortly after found the Inconveniency of this kind of Treatment in the succeeding Wars that happen'd in his Reign, which were all undertaken upon Necessity. The first was against the *Sarmatians* in *Europe*, with whom were joyn'd those of *Asia*, and many of the ancient *Scythians*, who all together invaded the *Roman* Empire, and began a cruel and dangerous War, at once destroying a whole Legion and a General of the *Romans*. But after several Reinforcements of the Legions, and much Bloodshed, the *Sarmatians* were Overthrown, and constrain'd to retire into their Country, with the loss of many of their People. After which, in the eighth Year of *Domitian's* Reign, the *Dacians*, under the Conduct of *Decabalus* their King, made an Eruption out of their Country, and extreamly afflicted the *Roman* State; in which War many bloody Battels were fought to the great shame and loss of the *Romans*. At first they Overthrew *Oppius Sabinus*, a Man of consular Dignity, and cut off the greatest part of his Army ; and next *Cornelius Fuscus*, Captain of the *Prætorian* Guards, in several Fights. Our remaining Authors are very brief and imperfect as to the particulars of these great and dangerous Wars ; but *Tacitus*, whose large Account of 'em is lost, tells us, That many Armies and Standards of the *Romans* were cast away, through the Rashness or Cowardice of their Commanders. The Contests were not then for the Limits of the Empire, and the Banks of the *Danube* ; but the standing Legions, and the Provinces themselves were in Danger of being lost ; so that Losses being heap'd

heap'd upon Losses, every Season became unhappily memorable for some Calamity or Overthrow. But at last the *Roman* State, vigorously exerting its inward Power and Strength, repell'd those barbarous Nations, tho' not without the assistance of Money, and procur'd *Domitian* a Triumph, which was not his only Triumph; for he obtain'd another over the *Catti*, a People in *Germany*, with whom he maintain'd a doubtful War; for which he vainly assum'd the Sur-Name of *Germanicus*, and caus'd the two Months *September* and *October* to be call'd *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, because in one of them he was made Emperor, and in the other he was born.

After this *Domitian* proceeded to higher Degrees of Pride and Extravagancy, not permitting his Statues in the *Capitol* to be made of any Thing less than of pure Gold and Silver, and of a precise Weight. And as Ambition is a boundless Madness, which sets Men against Heaven when it has rais'd 'em above the World, so it caus'd this Emperor impiously to assume to himself Divine Honours, and to style himself *Our Lord* and *Our God*; ordering likewise that no Man shou'd presume to call him otherwise, either in Writing or Discourse. This monstrous Arrogancy brought him into all Kinds of Enormities, and was the fatal Fore-runner of many excessive Cruelties, destroying great Numbers of all Sorts, without Mercy or Consideration; so that he prov'd like *Nero* and *Caligula*, and not like his Father or Brother. He caus'd many Illustrious Senators to be put to Death, some of which had been Consuls, particularly *Civicius Cerealis* in his Proconsulship of *Asia*, and *Salvidenus Orfitus* and *Aecilius Glabrio* in their Banishments, unjustly pretending Practices against the State. He also punish'd Multitudes of others upon every slight and trifling Occasion:

S

Alius

Alius Lamia among the rest was executed only for his Jest, tho' they were old and innocent; *Salvius Cocceanus*, for Celebrating the Nativity of *Otho* the Emperor, who was his Uncle by the Father's Side; *Merius Porphasianus*, for being reported to have had an Imperial Horoscope, portending him to be Emperor, and other Pretences of the like Nature; and *Sallustius Lucullus*, his Lieutenant in *Britain*, for suffering a new sort of Lances to be call'd *Lucullia's*, after his own Name. He commanded *Junius Rusticus* to be put to Death, for publishing a Writing in Commendation of *Petus Thrasea* and *Helvidius Priscus*, two Philosophers, contrary to his Father's Promotion in the Empire; upon which Occasion he a second time banish'd all the Philosophers, Mathematicians, &c. out of *Rome* and *Italy*. For these and many other Cruelties, and for some Affronts receiv'd, *Lucius Antonius*, Governor of the Upper *Germany*, rais'd a dangerous Rebellion in those Parts; and being Commander of a numerous Army, he usurp'd the Title of Emperor. The Success of this Insurrection remain'd long doubtful, and became daily more formidable to the Emperor, who had so much lost the Love of his People, till his General *Normandus* dexterously surpriz'd *Antonius*, just when a sudden Overflowing of the *Rhine* had stopp'd the Arrival of the *German* Auxiliaries, and destroy'd both him and his Army. The News of this Victory, we are told, was brought to *Rome* by supernatural Means on the same Day that the Battel was fought, to the great surprize of the Emperor and City.

After this Victory and Success, *Domitian's* Cruelty encreas'd, shewing no Kind of Mercy to those who had been of the adverse Party; and that he might throughly revenge himself, and discover

discover all their Accomplices, he invented new Kinds of Tortures, putting Fire into their Privities, and sometimes cutting off their Hands. After which he became exorbitant in his Cruelties, even to his greatest Friends and Favourites, in which he was not only fierce and positive, but also exceeding subtle and artificial in surprizing. The Day before he crucify'd the Controller of his Household, he kindly call'd him up into his Chamber, caus'd him to sit down by him, dismiss'd him chearful and secure, and favour'd him with a Dish of Meat from his own Table that Night. Having concluded on the Death of *Arctinus Clemens*, a Person of Consular Dignity, and one of his principal Favourites and Emisseries, he sent for him, complemented him, shew'd him greater Favour than formerly, and carry'd him about with him in his own Litter. And that he might abuse the Patience of Men with more Scorn and Contempt, he never pronounc'd any dismal Sentence, but with a cunning Preamble, full of great Clemency and Mercy; so that whenever he appear'd kind and gentle in the Prologue, it was a certain Sign of proving cruel and bloody in the Epilogue. Having brought some Persons accus'd of Treason before the Senate, to prepare them for his Design, he publicly declar'd, That *that Day wou'd manifestly shew how dear he was to the Senate*; by which Means he fore-spoke their Judgments, and easily prevail'd to have them condemn'd to die *more Majorum*, the most cruel of all Deaths: Which when he had obtain'd, as if he had been terrified with the Atrocity of the Punishment, he thus interceded with the Senate, *Permit, I beseech you, Venerable Fathers, that I may obtain of your tender Piety (which I know cannot be obtain'd but with great Difficulty) that these poor condemn'd*

S 2

Wretches

Wretches may be allow'd to make choice of what Deaths they will suffer : By so doing, you will rescue your own Eyes from a dismal Spectacle of Horror, and all the World will take notice that I was then present in the Senate.

In the midst of these various Cruelties, this Emperor gave himself up to all Kinds of Luxury and Incontinence, and to the Practice of all sorts of covetous and rapacious Acts. In the former he was no less notorious than the most vicious of his Predecessors, being enormously addicted to Lust and Wantonness, and frequently conversing and swimming with the most ordinary and lewd Prostitutes. Having exhausted his Treasury by his extraordinary Buildings, by his frequent Exhibitions to the People, by his Augmentation of his Soldiers Pay, and other great Charges of the Empire, his Avarice began to appear, and to shew it self in its most ugly Form, reducing him to the Invention of all Kinds of Rapines and Extortions. He seiz'd upon the Estates of all People, whether Living or Dead, upon the least Accusation, by the first Informer ; and the smallest Action or Word against the Majesty of the Prince, was sufficient to ruine the Possessor. He confiscated Inheritances, tho' never so remote, if but one Witness cou'd be found to depose, *That he heard the deceased Party say when living, That Cæsar was his Heir.* With which artificial Contrivances, and as many others as he cou'd invent, he never ceas'd squeezing and pillaging opulent Persons, not only in Rome and Italy, but also in other Provinces subject to the Empire ; so that Wealth and Riches now became the Romans greatest Snare. But above all, the several Tributes of the *Jews*, now the Abjects of the World, was exacted with greatest Rigor and Severity ; not only from such as by

open

open Profession were *Jews*, and practis'd their Religion in the City, but from such also as had dissembled their Original, and by that Means, evaded the Impositions. And his enormous Impieties having awakned in him the quickest Jealousies, he became extreamly suspicious of the Line of *David*, upon Report made to him, *That from Him should arise a Person who was to rule the whole World.* Whereupon this cruel Emperor commanded all those *Jews* of the Linage of *David* to be diligently searcht out and Slain. Tho' afterwards, two *Christian* Grandsons of *St. Jude* the Apostle, of that Line, being brought before him, and finding them poor, and understanding by them that *Christ's* Kingdom was not of this World, he dismiss'd them, supposing their Meanness and Simplicity to be below his Fears and Jealousies.

At length, to set a Seal to all former Wickednesses, this Emperor set himself to persecute the Catholick Church, and to destroy the *Christian* Religion; and by his Letters and Edicts, both in *Rome* and in other Places, infinite numbers of *Christians* were banish'd and put to Death; upon whom he executed various Cruelties. This was the Second general Persecution of the Church, which broke out in the tenth Year of this Emperor's Reign, and 26 Years after the beginning of the First under *Nero*; in which the beloved Disciple *St. John*, was sent for to *Rome*, where by *Domitian's* Command he was thrown into a Cauldron of boyling Oil, or rather Oil set on Fire; whence he was miraculously preserv'd from Danger, and immediately after banish'd to the desolate Isle of *Patmos*; where he wrote the *Apocalypse*, which was a Divine Representation of the State and Condition of Christianity in the future Periods and Ages of the Church. Many other e-

*The Second
general Perse-
cution.
A. D. 91.*



minent Christians suffer'd in this Persecution, particularly *Timothy* was ston'd to Death in *Ephesus* by *Diana's* Votaries; and *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* was martyr'd at *Athens*. Besides, *Domitian* spar'd not his Cousin German *Fl. Clemens*, at that time Consul, for being a *Christian*; and banish'd his Wife *Fl. Domitilla*, his own Kinswoman also, for the same reason, into the Island *Pandataria*. Thus like his bloody Predecessor *Nero*, he rag'd against the innocent *Christians*, and likewise their Persecutors; but before his Death, after two or three Years, he moderated the Persecution, and made it cease.

Now *Domitian* by his brutish and bloody Practices, became odious to the greatest part of his Subjects, but exceeding terrible to the Senate and Nobility; the whole Body of which he often threatned, by the causeless Deaths and Banishments of so many of them. Once the Senate-House was beset, and the Senators environ'd with Soldiers, to their great Terror; another time they were driven to a most dismal Fright by a more private Contrivance of the Emperor's, which succeeded in this manner. *Domitian*, at a set Evening, made a kind and solemn Invitation of the principal and greatest part of the Senate, to a Publick Entertainment. At the Entrance of his Palace they were all formally receiv'd, and ceremoniously conducted, and lock'd up in a spacious Hall hung round with black, and illuminated by a few melancholy Lamps, which were only sufficient to shew the Horror of the Place, and to discover several Coffers, upon which were fairly written the Names of the Senators invited. The Senators were fill'd with strange Fears and Apprehensions at the appearance of this dismal Scene, and the Prospect of

of Death so solemnly carv'd out for them; well knowing the causeless and unreasonable Cruelties of this Emperor. In the height of their frightful Imaginations, after a long waiting, their Fears were increas'd by an Entertainment of many naked Persons, with their Bodies all over blacken'd, who enter'd the Hall with drawn Swords in one Hand, and flaming Torches in the other. The Guests at this dreadful Appearance, expected nothing but immediate Death, when suddenly the naked Persons, after they had danc'd some time about them, set open the Doors, telling them, *That the Emperor gave all the Company leave to withdraw.* Thus did this Tyrant threaten the main Body of the Senate at once; but he seldom threatned without striking, especially if he once got their Names into a certain Table-Book which he kept purposely for cruel and bloody Designs.

As *Domitian* drew near the End of his Reign, his Errors and Enormities became more conspicuous and notorious; he became more lazy and unactive, more insolent and revengeful, and like a thorough-pac'd Tyrant, insupportably jealous and suspicious of all Persons. The Predictions of the *Chaldeans*, and other Astrologers, concerning his Death, gave him violent Apprehensions; which, together with his numerous Crimes, made him live in perpetual Disquiet, the least Suspicion throwing him into the greatest Anxiety. At length he wou'd not admit any Prisoner or Criminal to be brought before him, but in private, and with the greatest Caution; nor wou'd he hear any of them plead for themselves, till he had first secur'd their Chains in his Hands: And that his Domesticks might perceive how unsafe it was for any to attempt the Life of

his Patron, upon any Pretence, he commanded *Epaphroditus* to be executed, for being suppos'd to assist *Nero* in his Death, tho' he desir'd it himself, being first deserted by the rest of his Friends. Finally his Jealousies encreas'd to that degree, that he caus'd a Gallery in which he usually walk'd, to be set about with a certain Stone call'd *Phengites*, by the brightness of which he cou'd discern what was done behind him by Reflection as in a Glass. He became daily tormented with unfortunate Omens and Portents; but nothing more terrify'd him than the Answer of *Aicleterion* the Astrologer, and the strange Accident that ensu'd. For he being accus'd to *Domitian* of publishing the Predictions of his Death, and not denying the Charge, the Emperor ask'd if he knew his own Fortune, and what wou'd be his Death; the Astrologer reply'd, *That he shou'd be devour'd by Dogs.* To convince the World, as he thought, of his Error, he caus'd him immediately to be slain, and burn'd with all possible Care and Caution; which while his Officers were effecting, a furious Tempest suddenly arose, blew down the funeral Pile, and threw off the Body; where the Dogs by accident caught it up, and devour'd it before it was half burnt. His Jealousies extended likewise to Writers and Learned Men, especially Historians, whom he punish'd for their due Praises of Illustrious Men. He always dread'd these, well knowing that wise and faithful Men continually observ'd and condemned the hainous Offences of Tyrants, and wou'd record them for the good of Posterity. Notwithstanding *Josephus* by a happy Fortune retain'd the Favour, if not the Incouragement of this Emperor, finishing his History of the *Jewish* Antiquities, in the

13th Year of this Reign. At which time flourish'd many eminent Writers, particularly *Martial*, the witty epigrammatick Poet; *Juvenal* the declaiming Satyrift, who lively expos'd the Vices of this corrupt Reign; that Sonorous enthusiastick Poet *Statius*, who begins the 4th Book of his *Sylvæ*, with the Celebration of *Domitian's* 17th Consulship, which was in the 14th Year of his Reign; with several others who were prompted more by the Genius of the Nation, than the Encouragement of the Emperor.

The last Part of this Reign is represented by *Tacitus*, as the most miserable and insupportable of any preceding; in which he tells us, *Domitian*, not at set Times, and by various Degrees, but with an uninterrupted Course, and with one Blow, as it were, endeavour'd to ruin the State. *Nero* exercis'd abominable Cruelties, but withdrew his Presence, and look'd not on: But the principal Part of the *Romans* Miseries in this Reign, was to see and be seen; when Mens secret Sighs were register'd; and when that Stern Countenance and fiery Visage of the Tyrant, with which he arm'd himself against Confusion and Blushing, cou'd indure publickly to observe and mark the Fears and Palenesses of such an infinite Number of People. But a Period was soon put to his furious Proceedings; for *Rome* had now learnt the fatal Secret, and been inured to that violent Expedient of disburthening its self of Tyrants and Monsters. His Ruin was much promoted by means of the unjust Death of his Cousin *Clemens* above mention'd, and hastned by Reason of an accidental Discovery of his own Wife *Domitia*, who searching into his black Table-Book, found her own Name there, with many of his principal Friends, particularly *Stephanus* his Steward, *Norbanus*

banus and *Petronius*, to whom she shew'd the Book in order to oblige them to concert Matters with her, and dispatch *Domitian*. These and several others, to whom the highest Friendship had been shewn, were soon perswaded into a deep Conspiracy, which they form'd and carry'd on with the greatest Diligence and Secrecy. Of these *Symphanius* and *Parthenius* were principal, the latter of which was *Domitian's* chief Chamberlain, and the former for several Days had worn a Dagger in his left Arm, which he wrapt in Wool, pretending an accidental Hurt in that Place. Having after divers Consultations, determined the Manner and Method of Proceeding, they impatiently waited for the first Opportunity to put their fatal Design in Execution.

The *Roman* Writers take Notice of several prefiguring Omens before his Death, particularly frequent and terrible Flashes of Lightning, which drove him almost to Despair, and caus'd him to cry out, *Let Jove strike whom he pleases*. He had Notice formerly of the Day and Hour of his Death, according to some, and the preceding Day, having order'd some choice Fruit which were presented him, to be reserv'd against the next, he added, *If it be my Fortune to use them*: Then turning to those about him, he told them, *That the next Day some fatal Thing would be perform'd, which should prove the Discourse of all the World*. At Midnight he was so afrighted, as to leap out of his Bed; and the next Morning he sent for an Astrologer which came from *Germany*, and condemn'd him to Death for declaring to him that the late great Lightnings portended a Revolution in the State. At Night when his Fears were greatest, he enquiring of his Attendants what Hour it was, they falsly told him Midnight, which was

an Hour later than that which he apprehended. At which, being transported as if all Danger was past, he hastned to his Bath for the Refreshment of his Body; but *Partbenius* with great Earnestness led him another way, pretending he had got a Person in his Chamber, who had a Matter of the highest Importance to discover to him, and such as cou'd not safely be deferr'd. In which Chamber he was met by *Stephanus*, who under pretence of discovering a Conspiracy, he presented *Domitian* with a List of several Names; and while he was reading it with great Horror and Astonishment, he suddenly struck his Dagger into his Groyn. Whereupon the Emperor crying out, clos'd with him, and with great Violence threw him to the Ground, before he could give him a second Wound; but in the midst of these Strugglings, *Partbenius*, *Clodianus*, *Maximus*, and *Saturius*, with other Conspirators, which were of his own House-hold, ran all furiously upon him, and with many Wounds dispatcht this impious Tyrant. It is almost incredible what some Writers report concerning *Apollonius Tyanicus*, the famous Magician of that Age, who being at *Ephesus*, at the same Minute that *Domitian* was Slain, suddenly cry'd out with great Eagerness, *Courage brave Stephanus, Strike the Tyrant home*; and immediately after, said, *All is well, the Tyrant is dead, he is just now Slain.*

The Death of Domitian.

This was the wretched End of *Flavius Domitian*, the twelfth Emperor of Rome, in the 45th Year of his Age, and the 15th of his Reign; a Person, who tho' he had the noble Examples of a Father and Brother, by his detestable Vices and Ambition, became so odious and abominable, that the Empire groan'd with his Burden, and the World cou'd contain him no longer. The Judgments



ments of Heaven were still more exemplary in the Indignities offer'd to his Body and his Memory: For tho' his Death was taken hainously by his *Prætorian Guards*, who were often Instruments of his Cruelty, and therefore offer'd to canonize him as a God; yet the Joy of the Senate was so great, that being assembled in the utmost Hast, they cou'd not abstain from reviling him after the most approbrious and contemptuous Manner imaginable, commanding Ladders to be immediately brought, all his Scutcheons, Statues and Images to be torn down, and destroy'd before their Faces; and at last made a Decree, That no more Honour shou'd be shewn at his Funeral, than was allowed to a common Ruffian; that all his Inscriptions shou'd be totally raz'd; that his Name shou'd be struck out of the Registers of Fame, and his Memory abolish'd for ever. He differ'd from *Caligula* and *Nero* in this, that tho' he was rather more cruel, he was not altogether so irregular and extravagant, and by a happy preserving the Justice of Governours and Magistrates, he kept the Empire from general Rebellions and Revolts; by which Means he rescu'd himself from *Nero's* Guilt of sowing the Seeds, and creating of Civil Wars after his Death. His Death put a Period to the Family of the *Vespasians*, and was the last of those Emperors vulgarly call'd *The twelve Cæsars*; of which *Julius*, *Augustus*, *Vespasian* and *Titus*, were Persons, tho' not faultless, of singular Merits and Renown; *Galba* and *Otho* had great Vices and Errors; *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, *Nero*, *Vitellius* and *Domitian*, tho' commendable for some Qualities, were Monsters of Mankind, and Pests of the World. Of all of them, but three dy'd a natural Death; most, if not all the rest, having been the just and wilfull Cause of their own Ruin and Destruction.

on. The Death of the last hapned U. C. 849, it being 138 Years after the Beginning of the Imperial State of *Rome*, under *Julius Cæsar*, 121 after the full Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 96 Years after our Saviour's Birth, 63 after his Crucifixion, and 25 after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

The End of the first Book.

on. The Death of the late Emperor A.D. 81, it
being 10 Years after the beginning of the im-
perial Series of Rome, under Julian Caesar, 101
after the full Settlement of the Empire by the
death of Nero after our Saviour's birth of 48
in his Conception, and 27 after the Incarnation
of Jesus Christ.

The Emperor Domitian, who reigned from the
Year of our Saviour's birth 81, to the Year of
his death 96, was a cruel and tyrannical Prince,
who persecuted the Christians, and was at last
murdered by his own Subjects.

The End of the First Book

THE
Roman History.

BOOK II.

*From the last of the twelve CÆSARS,
to the Removal of the Imperial Seat by
Constantine the Great.*

Containing the space of 234 Years.

CHAP. I.

*From the Death of Domitian, the last of the
twelve CÆSARS, to the Death of Tra-
jan, the fourteenth Emperor, who brought
the Empire to the utmost Extent and
Power.*

Containing the space of 21 Years.

SOME had now been severely harrass'd
and afflicted with the lawless Actions
of a barbarous and tyrannical Prince,
and by all the Miseries and Calamities
of Arbitrary Power; so that the Death of *Domitian*,
how irregular soever, prov'd a great Relief
and

A. D.
96.

and extraordinary Satisfaction to the Greatest and Wisest of the City, who under his Reign cou'd have no Security either of their Lives or Estates. Many Persons Hopes were rais'd and enlarg'd by a Prospect of those Golden Days that succeeded, which they believ'd were portended by *Domitian's* late Dream, of having a Golden Neck and Head grown upon his Shoulders. Tho' this was but a small Foundation for Mens Hopes, yet in the Event, those prosperous Times prov'd true, by Reason of the Moderation and Wise Government of the five Succeeding Emperors, who, tho' Foreigners procur'd that Happiness to the *Roman* State, which but few of its own Natives and Neighbours cou'd afford. The Senate, after some Moderation of their Transports of Joy for *Domitian's* Death, and some small Consultations, immediately took care to provide a Successor, before any other shou'd be chosen by the Army; and *Cocceius Nerva*, being at that time, for his many Vertues, Experience and Age, a Person of the greatest Reputation and Esteem in *Rome*, he was made Emperor by their Suffrages, having been first favour'd and assist'd by *Petronius Secundus*, Captain of the *Prætorian* Guards, and *Parthenius*, one of the late Conspirators. *Nerva* was of an illustrious Family, sprung from a Father of the same Name, and born in the Isle of *Crete*, tho' most say in *Narnia* a City in *Umbria*, and others say *Spain*; being now above Sixty four Years of Age, and not without some bodily Infirmities.

*Nerva made
Emperor.*

Nerva was scarcely receiv'd in the Senate, and allow'd of as Emperor, when he was exceedingly surpriz'd by a false Rumour, That *Domitian* was still alive, and that the Report of his Death was only an Artifice to create new Mischiefs and Cruel-

Cruelties. This News extreamly confounded this wary and timorous Prince, so that his Countenance was suddenly chang'd, his Voice lost, and he hardly able to stand; till *Parthenius* gave him such Assurance of the Truth of his Death, that he recover'd his former Temper and Resolution. Shortly after, the whole Senate went to pay him their utmost Respects, and to receive him as their Lord and Emperor; all shewing great Satisfaction, and no less Hopes of future Prosperity and Success. Many Congratulatory Speeches and Complements were made to this new Emperor; but that from *Arrius Antonius*, a very wise and just Man, and his intimate Companion, was of a different kind from the rest. For having imbrac'd him with great Familiarity, he openly told him, *That in consideration of his Advancement to this high Dignity, he came with the rest to Congratulate the good Fortune of the Senate and People of Rome, and the Happiness of the Provinces of the Empire, but could not Congratulate Him upon any Account. For, proceeded he, having by your Wisdom and Vertue, now happily escap'd the Malice of your Enemies, and the Injuries of wicked Princes, you plunge your self into new Troubles and Dangers, and expose your self to the Censure and Hatred of all, both Friends and Enemies; especially the former, who will unjustly presume upon your Favour, in respect of ancient Amity; and if any of their Suits be deny'd, they will become greater and more violent Enemies, than those who openly declare themselves your Foes.*

After the finishing of the Ceremonies and the accustomed Solemnities, *Nerva* diligently and closely apply'd himself to the great Affairs of the Publick, and perform'd several noble and excellent Things. And his first was a rescinding of the odious Acts and Decrees of his Predecessor

T

Domitian,

The Christi-
ans favour'd.

Domitian, particularly recalling the scatter'd *Christians*, who from *Rome* and other Cities were banish'd in the late Reign, permitting them the free Use of their Religion. In the time of which general Indulgence, *St. John* the Evangelist left the Isle of *Patmos*, and return'd into *Asia* his ancient charge, chiefly fixing himself at *Ephesus*, the Care and Presidency of which he took upon him, and by the Assistance of Seven other Bishops, govern'd that Spacious Diocess. This Emperor shew'd the like Kindness and Humanity to all others, who were unjustly banish'd by his Predecessor; and likewise releas'd and discharg'd all the Cities of the Empire from those severe Impositions which *Vespasian* and *Domitian* had laid upon them. He particularly remov'd that rigorous Tribute upon all Carriages, which had been look'd upon as so great a Grievance in general, that the Senate commanded Coyns to be minted in Remembrance of the Goodness of the Emperor that eas'd *Italy* of that Burden. To many who by *Domitian* had been unjustly dispossest'd of their Goods, he commanded the Owners to be restor'd to all such as cou'd be found about the Imperial Palaces: And he not only shew'd himself liberal to those who were oppress'd; but to all Poor Men who had Sons, he caus'd them to be bred up at his own Charges. He made also a munificent Distribution among all the People of *Rome*, in a larger Measure than was usually made by any of his Predecessors; and to some decayed Citizens whom he knew had no Estates, he caus'd certain Possessions, which he purchas'd for that purpose, to be divided among them. And above all, he conferr'd great Favours, and bestow'd large Gifts upon his Friends and Relations; and his Liberality was generally so extensive, that at his first

Arrival

Arrival to the Empire, he was constrain'd to sell his gold and silver Plate, and other rich Moveables of his House, to enable him to perform his many bountiful Offices. His Liberality likewise extended to Learning, and learned Men, of which he was a great Incourager, being himself very eloquent and a good Poet, as *Marshal* assures us; in whose Time flourish'd, besides some eminent Writers mention'd in *Domitian's* Reign, that celebrated Institutor of Youth, *Quintilian*.

This Emperor was no less noted for his Mildness and Clemency, than Bounty and Liberality, insomuch that he solemnly swore, *That no Senator of Rome shou'd by his Commandment be put to Death; tho' they gave never so just an Occasion*; which Oath he so religiously observ'd, that when two of that Rank had Conspired against his Life, he us'd no kind of Severity against them: But first sending for them, *To let them see he was not ignorant of their trayterous Designs*, he carry'd them with him to the publick Theatre, plac'd them on each side of him, and presented each with a Sword, telling them before all the World, *That they might experience the Goodness of the Weapons upon his Body*. This and other uncommon Acts of Clemency, gave occasion to some to murmur against the Lenity of his Government, alledging, *That such great Mildness caus'd too much Looseness and Corruption in the State*; and *Fronton*, a principal Man in Rome, presum'd openly to declare, *That it was a great Misfortune to live under that Reign, where all Things were forbidden, but a worse under that where all Things were allow'd*. Upon Notice of which Boldness, *Nerva* shew'd but small Anger, but prudently prohibited several Things which gave Occasion for such a Censure; and he so much desir'd to govern wisely and uprightly, that he acted nothing of Mo-

ment without the Assistance of others, and he procur'd such as were of the greatest Experience in *Rome*, by whose Advice and Council, he provided, ordain'd and dispatcht all Matters of Consequence. Yet by Reason of his Mildness and Remissness in some Particulars, the great Officers of State and Governours of Provinces were accus'd of being more corrupt in their Administrations; and more burdensom to the People, than under that Tyrant *Domitian*, who by a happy and vigorous Resolution, restrain'd a great Part of their shameless Briberies and indirect Practices.

During the short Time of his Reign, he made several good Laws and Ordinances; among which he strictly prohibited a common Abuse of that Age, which was the Castration of Males; a Custom which *Domitian* had likewise condemn'd, tho' not wholly remov'd. He also forbid that any Man shou'd Marry his Neece, or Brother's Daughter, which was first allow'd in *Claudius's* Reign; and settled several other things that wanted Reformation. He wou'd not permit any Statues to be erected in his Honour, and took down all those Gold and Silver Statues of *Domitian's*, which the Senate had Spared, and converted them into large Sums of Money. At the same time he had so little of Avarice in his Temper, that when *Herodes Atticus* had found a large Treasure in his House, and to avoid Calumnies, had discover'd to Him as the legal Owner; *Nerva* generously wrot to him, *Utere, Use it*: But the other not believing himself secure, gave him to understand, *That this Treasure exceeded the Condition of a private Person*; Whereupon the Emperor readily reply'd, *Ergo abutere, Then abuse it*, being freely willing to reap none of the Profit himself. He was also a noted
and

and frequent Reconciler of all Differences and Contests, and had so great a Confidence in his Innocence, that he often said, *That tho' he shou'd quit the Empire, and return to a private Life, he had done nothing that cou'd cause him to fear any Man.* He had so small a Fear of *Rufus Virginus*, a most popular Man whom the Armies had formerly set up for Emperor, that he made him his Collegue in the Consulship; and upon his Death shortly after, he gave him an honourable Epitaph, importing, *That Rufus's assuming the Empire, was solely for his Country's Good.* Notwithstanding the Actions of this Prince gave him no Reason to fear Enemies, yet he liv'd not free from the treacherous Practices of his Subjects: For besides the foremention'd Senators who aim'd at his Life, *Crassus Calphurnius*, with some others, form'd a dangerous Conspiracy against his Person, but this was timely reveal'd, to this good Emperour, who according to his wonted Clemency, wou'd use no Severity, but rested satisfy'd with only the Banishment of those who were Culpable, tho' the Senate desir'd to inflict a more rigorous Punishment. Still he continued in his usual Security, his Symbol being, *A good Mind possesses a Kingdom.*

This Emperor had no remarkable Wars abroad, but was not free from some Disturbances among his Soldiers at home, more especially in the Beginning of the Second Year of his Reign, all which arose upon the Account of *Domitian's* Murder, which they resolv'd to revenge the first Opportunity. *Alianus Casperius*, Captain of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, was the Principal in this Commotion, who zealously excited the Soldiers to destroy all those who had joyn'd in the late Emperor's Assassination; which they determin'd to put in Execution, tho' *Nerva* neither gave them Incouragement nor Per-

mission. This Motion was sudden and impetuous, and the Emperour extreamly concern'd, resolving to prevent their Demands, and protect those from whom he receiv'd the Empire, or to die in their behalf; all which he openly declar'd and publish'd. But the Matter was carry'd on with such Violence and Resolution, that the old Emperor wanted sufficient Power and Vigour to put a stop to their Fury; So that *Stephanus* and *Petrinus* were Slain, and all others who were pronounc'd guilty by *Casperius*, who rested not here, but constrain'd *Nerva* himself to give Thanks to the Soldiers before the People, for destroying the worst and most impious of all Men. This was a very sensible Affliction to the Emperor, whose Power and Authority daily declin'd; and now finding that his Age and Infirmities render'd him almost contemptible to his Soldiers, he resolv'd to adopt some worthy Person for his Successor, who shou'd be able both to support him, and govern after his Decease. Tho' *Nerva* had many considerable Friends and Relations, who endeavour'd for this high Dignity, yet like a noble, just and generous Prince, he sought only the publick Good of his Country, and wisely made Choice of *Ulpinus Trajan*, a Stranger to his Family, then Governour of the lower *Germany*, and the greatest and most deserving Person of that Age. Having put his Determination in Execution, and the accusom'd Solemnities perform'd, he adopted him in the Capitol, made him *Cæsar* in the Senate, and immediately sent Ambassadors to him at *Cologne*, with the Ensigns and Arms of the Empire, and a Verse in *Latine*, desiring him *To come and Succour him*. The Adoption of *Trajan* prov'd so great a Curb to the Licentiousness and Mutinies of the Soldiers, that for the future they remain'd in a perfect

Trajan adopted by Nerva.

perfect Quietness and Obedience. But *Nerva* liv'd not long to enjoy the Benefit of this happy Choice; for about three Months after, he was seiz'd with a violent Passion against a Senator call'd *Regulus*, and by straining his Voice, he was put into such a Disorder, that by Reason of the Feebleness of his Body, and the Lowness of his Spirits, he fell into a Fever, and shortly after dy'd, being almost 66 Years of Age, after a short Reign of one Year, four Months and nine Days. Thus dy'd *Cocceius Nerva*, the thirteenth Emperor of Rome, a Prince of great Wisdom, Generosity and Moderation; and so much the more commendable for his impartial Choice of so brave a Successor.

The Death of Nerva.

II. The Roman Empire in the last Reign, had A. D. 98. but partly recover'd its Miseries and Losses occasion'd by the Tyranny and Mismanagement of *Domitian*; but this present Reign seems to have been the peculiar Care of Providence to restore all Things to their former Lustre, and to spread the Roman Fame to a larger Extent than ever. *Trajan* was at *Agrippina*, or *Cologne*, or returning from thence when *Nerva* dy'd, having first reduc'd all *Germany* beyond the *Rhine*, to its former State and Condition; for which and other noble Qualities he was joyfully receiv'd at Rome by the Senate and People, and obey'd as Emperor. He was a Spaniard by Birth, of an illustrious Family, born in a Town call'd *Italica*, not far from the City of *Seville*; being now above 42 Years of Age, of a strong Body and vigorous Mind, happily temper'd with the furious Warmth of Youth, and the wary Experience of old Age, so that he was in all Respects prepar'd for the greatest Attempts, and the noblest Enterprizes. His Father's Name was

Trajan made Emperor.

Trajan, and his Wife's *Plotina*, a Lady of great Note, whose Modesty and Piety in this exalted Station, was highly esteem'd by the Romans. In the Beginning of his Reign, He was blest with the Happiness of having the greatest Master of this Age, which was that admirable Philosopher and Biographer *Plutarch*, who, at *Trajan's* first Arrival at the Empire, is said to have writ to him to this purpose. *Since your Merits, without Importunities, have gain'd you the Empire, I must Congratulate both your Vertue, and my own good Fortune; if at least your future Government proves answerable to your former Worth: Otherwise you have subjected your self to all Perils, and me to the Censures of detracting Tongues. For Rome will never support an Emperor unworthy of her self, and the Errors of the Scholar will be charg'd upon the Master, upon which account Seneca is reproach'd, and his Fame still suffers for the Enormities of Nero; and even Socrates and Quintilian have not escap'd Censure for the Miscarriages of their Pupils. But You, if you still continue what you are, and recede not from your self, will certainly administer all Things as becomes your Dignity; if you lay the Foundation of Government on the Command of Your own Passions, and make Vertue the Scope of all your Actions, they will all proceed in true Harmony and Order. I have set before you the Power of Laws, and the Civil Constitutions of your Predecessors; which if you observe and obey, Plutarch is then your Guide of Living: If otherwise, this present Letter shall be my publick Testimony against you, That you shall not ruine the Roman Empire, under the Pretence of the Counsel and Authority of Plutarch. Trajan strictly observ'd these and the like Methods, and it's believ'd, that this wise Emperor made use of Plutarch in all his Counsels, and that the great Happiness that attended all his Actions and Administration,*

stration, proceeded, in a great Measure, from his noble Instructions.

Trajan with great Care and Industry, set about the Administration of the Government, and pursu'd it with that Mildness and Moderation, that Justice and Impartiality, together with that Wisdom and Sagacity, as caus'd the Admiration as well as the Love and Satisfaction of the Senate and People of *Rome*. He first endeavour'd to reform the Laws, and to cause them to be observ'd, and that Equity and Justice shou'd be strictly and faithfully administred in all Cases. He also took great Care to advance the most worthy and vertuous Men in the highest Posts and Offices; and such as were otherwise, he reform'd and reclaim'd with Gentleness and Clemency, and not with Rigour and Severity. Upon his taking upon him the Empire, he declar'd in the open Senate, *That no good Man by his Command, shou'd ever suffer Death or Disgrace*; which he confirm'd by a Solemn Oath, and inviolably observ'd it throughout his whole Reign, according to *Dion*. Shortly after he sent for *Casperius* and the *Prætorian* Cohorts, who had rais'd the Sedition against *Nerva*, under the Notion of employing them, and disbanded them as mutinous Persons, without further Punishment. He immediately shew'd his great Bounty and Liberality, bestowing large Benefits and Favours upon all Men, greatly relieving the Poor and Indigent, in which he both imitated and excell'd his Predecessor *Nerva*; which he in an eminent Manner shew'd by his educating of such Numbers of poor Men's Children in *Rome*, and in all *Italy*. He was no less noted for the Command of his Passions, and did so far Moderate his Wrath and Choler, as he was never known to be overcome with it; and likewise

wife, was as free from the Desires of other Mens Properties, and all kinds of Rapines and Avarice. In sum, he was endu'd with all the Noble Vertues and Qualifications of a mighty Emperor: In the Affairs of War he was Valiant and Industrious; in the times of Peace Mild and Gentle; and in relieving the Distressed, Liberal and Bountiful. And seeing there are two Things expected and requir'd in great Princes, Religion at Home, and Fortitude in Arms Abroad, and Wisdom in both; he was endu'd with so great a Measure of the noblest Gifts, that, as *Aurelius Victor* tells us, he seem'd to enjoy a transcendent Temperature of all Vertues: Only he was not free from those two Vices of Luxury and Women; tho' in the former he never shew'd any Disorder or Extravagance, nor in the latter us'd any Violence or Compulsion.

With these Vertues and Qualifications he began his Reign, continuing peaceably for a short space; but being a most expert Commander, and inspir'd with a Martial Warmth, and a Thirst after Glory above his Predecessors, he resolv'd to extend and enlarge the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire by the Force of his Arms. His first Enterprize was against the *Dacians*, the Inhabiters of a spacious Country on the North of the River *Danube*; taking a just occasion from the frequent Ravages and Wars they had made upon the *Roman* Dominions in *Domitian's* Reign: *Trajan* rais'd a great and powerful Army, and with great Celerity march'd into those barbarous Countries, where he was vigorously oppos'd by *Decebalus* their King, with his utmost Power, so that the War became sharp and bloody. But *Decebalus*, being no longer able to protract the War, was constrain'd to come to a general Battel, where

where *Trajan*, by his Skill and Valour Overthrew him, with exceeding great Loss to the *Dacians*, with no small Slaughter to the *Romans*. This Victory was purchas'd with the Expence of so much Blood, that the *Romans* wanted Linen to bind up their Wounds; which occasion'd this Emperor, out of a generous Pity, to tear his own Robes and Vestments towards the supplying that Defect. *Trajan* closely pursu'd the Enemy, and with so much Diligence, that *Decebalus*, almost reduc'd to Despair, sent to him, humbly imploring Peace, and offering to accept of any Articles and Conditions that the Emperor shou'd propose. Whereupon *Trajan*, who glory'd as much in Pardoning the Humble and Submissive, as in Subduing the Proud and Haughty, notwithstanding he had made himself Master of the greatest Part of his Country, was willing to admit him into Grace and Favour upon these following Conditions. First, *To surrender such Lands as he held within the Bounds of the Empire*. Next, *To deliver up all his Instruments and Engines of War, and his several Engineers, together with all the Roman Deserters*. Thirdly, *To evacuate all the Castles and Forts within his Dominions, and to demolish such as shou'd be appointed by the Emperor*. Lastly, *To look upon only those for Allies and Enemies which were so reputed by the Senate*. These Articles were unwillingly accepted of by *Decebalus*, who, after he had Sworn to observe them, came before the Emperor to his Camp; where solemnly prostrating himself to the Earth, he publickly acknowledg'd himself his Victim and Vassal. This ended his first *Dacian War*, in the third Year of his Reign; for the Success of which he obtain'd the Surname of *Dacicus*.

Trajan returning Victorious to *Rome*, enter'd the City in solemn Triumph, and brought with him the Ambassadors of the King of *Dacia*, to whom he gave Audience in the Senate; and the Peace which *Trajan* had granted was there confirm'd. After this, for Joy, and in Honour of these late Conquests, and the more to endear himself to the People of *Rome*, he exhibited all manner of Games and Shews, which were usual upon these Occasions; withal, adding several new Games as he thought fit. But these publick Rejoycings did not withdraw him from doing of Justice, nor from the Care of the Government; but while they lasted, he spent the greatest Part of his Time in dispatching of Publick Business, and administering of Justice, going in Person to the Tribunal and Publick Audience, to judge and determine many Causes; which he did with no less Wisdom than Justice. While *Trajan* was thus worthily employ'd in the City, in a short space, *Decebalus*, being as unable to endure Subjection and Servitude as his Predecessors, began to make Preparations for a new War, first privately, and afterwards publicly; repairing and fortifying his Towns and Castles, providing Arms and Engines, and levying both Domestick and Neighbouring Forces against the Empire, resolving to make one vigorous Push towards the regaining his Losses. Upon notice of these powerful Preparations, *Decebalus* a second Time was adjudged an Enemy to the Empire; and so with an equal Army, but more incens'd than formerly *Trajan* went to these Wars again in Person. In these Wars *Decebalus*, growing more Cautious by his former Defeats, refus'd to come to a Battel, using all kinds of Policies, Stratagems, and Treacheries against the *Romans*; by some of which

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Trajan himself was in great Danger of being Slain or Taken : And by a notorious piece of Treachery, under the Pretence of a safe Conduct, the Enemy took a great Commander and Favourite of the Emperor's call'd *Longinus*. *Decebalus* finding so valuable a Prize and Prisoner, sent to *Trajan* to purchase a Pardon, and to treat of a Peace ; threatening besides, that if it were not granted him, he wou'd instantly put *Longinus* to Death, To which Proposal, *Trajan* gave Answer, That Peace and War had not their Dependance upon the safety of one Subject, and prosecuted the War with all possible Vigour and Industry. *Decebalus* did not immediately put his Threats in Execution ; but *Longinus* finding no Security of Life, nor no Life without Bonds, took Poyson and destroy'd himself.

During these Actions, in a very short space, *Trajan* built a Bridge over that spacious River *Danube*, for the Convenience of his Forces, being all of square Stone of wonderful Beauty, and one of the most stately and magnificent Works of that nature in the World. This Bridge contain'd twenty lofty Arches, each of them an hundred and fifty Foot in Height, besides the Foundation, and sixty Foot in Breadth ; every Arch being distant from each other a hundred and seventy Foot : Which was a most stupendious Fabrick, considering the short Time of its Building, and the numerous and almost insuperable Difficulties of laying so large a Foundation in such a vast deep River, and a Stream so strong and rapid. This may be one Proof of the Wealth and Greatness of the *Roman* Empire, which shews, that nothing is too bold and difficult for that Nation to attempt and effect. This Bridge was erected by *Trajan* to make a free Passage for his

*A famous
Bridge over
the Danube.*

Ar-

*Dacia Con-
quer'd and
made a Pro-
vince.*

A. D. 104.

Armies to pass the River *Danube*, against these barbarous Nations; but his Successor *Adrian* being of another Opinion, to hinder them of the like Conveniency, as some write, order'd it to be broken down. Upon the finishing of this Bridge, *Trajan* continu'd the War with great Vigour, shewing himself a most Expert and Valiant Commander; and notwithstanding the Country was large and spacious, and the Inhabitants Fierce and Hardy, he Conquer'd and Subdu'd the whole, and reduc'd King *Decebalus* to such Extremities, that to escape being made Prisoner he slew himself. His Head was immediately sent to *Rome*, and the whole Country of *Dacia* was added to the *Roman* Empire, and reduc'd into a regular Province; in which Country *Trajan* built many Cities and Towns, and sent several Colonies, being now in the sixth Year of his Reign. After which he return'd towards *Rome* with great Honour and Renown, bringing with him large Summs of Money, and much Wealth, taken from that King and Country; and his Name and Generosity became so famous through the World, that on his Way he was met by Ambassadors from the very *Indies*, and several other Nations, to sue for his Alliance, acknowledging him to be their Lord and Superior. At his Return to *Rome* he enter'd the City in great Triumph, and immediately after were exhibited various Shews and Games, with many magnificent Treats and Feasts, for Joy of his Return and Victories. These were more Solemn and Pompous than any before this Time; lasting for the space of an hundred and twenty Days, in which sometimes ten thousand Beasts, both Wild and Tame, were kill'd in a Day, accompany'd with an infinite Number of Gladiators Prizes, and other Warlike Pastimes.

Now

Now remaining in *Rome* in Peace and great Prosperity, the Emperor vigorously proceeded in a further Reformation of the Laws, and all kinds of Inconveniencies: Among the rest he utterly exterminated those insufferable Vermin the *De-lators*, *Informers*, and *Pettifoggers*, who in former Reigns had made vast Advantages by fomenting all kinds of private Quarrels and Dissentions, and had been almost destroy'd by *Titus*. He was no less busily employ'd in Publick Edifices and Fabricks, in *Rome, Italy*, and all Parts of the Empire; building several whole Cities and Towns, and granting great Privileges to others. He made an infinite number of Bridges, High-ways, and Causeys, to the great Advantage and Convenience of all Places; in the Care and Number of which useful Works, he exceeded all his Predecessors. Finding the City to have suffer'd extremely through Fires in his Reign, he Ordain'd for the future, That no private House shou'd be built higher than sixty Foot, because of the vast Ruines and Expences when such Fires happen'd; for which Care and Regard to the Publick Good, he was esteem'd, *A Father of his Country*. But in all his various Buildings, he carefully avoided Oppression, and never took the Liberty and Benefit of any Man's Goods or Labour, as was frequent in some of his Predecessors. He shew'd himself exceeding Courteous and Liberal to all Men; and he often went to visit his Friends, either when they were Sick, or upon Festival Days; and without Distinction kept mutual Feasts among them, going out with them in their Litters. He always retain'd a profound Veneration for the Senate, and he never Injur'd any of that Sacred Order, nor was any Condemn'd in all his Reign, but one by Order of Senate without his Know-

Knowledge. He never us'd any kind of Injustice or Extortion to encrease the Exchequer, but acted all things with great Moderation and Munificence, and both publickly and privately enrich'd deserving Men with Money and Honours, tho' he had but small Acquaintance with them. He Entertain'd Persons of Merit with great Love and Familiarity, tho' they were of mean Degrees, and admitted them into his private Conversation; for which, being blam'd for his too great Condescention, he generously reply'd, *That he treated his Subjects with the same Usage as he himself wou'd desire of his Prince, were he a private Person.* Then he had so great an Assurance and Confidence of his own Innocence and Integrity, that in giving his Sword to *Saburanus*, according to Custom, when he made him Captain of the Guards, he pronounc'd these remarkable Words, *Take this Sword, and if I govern like a just Prince, employ it in my Service; but if I abuse my Authority, draw it against me.* After which he added, *That he who gave Laws to the rest of the World, lay under stricter Obligations to observe 'em than any of his Subjects.*

As this Emperor was most just and regular in all the Actions of his Administration, so he proceeded with great Freedom and Disregard to Danger; and he gave many Testimonies of his fearless and open Disposition; but more particularly in his great Confidence shew'd to his Friend and Favourite *Sura*. For some Persons, who envy'd his great share he had in the Emperor's Friendship, us'd all imaginable Methods to blast his Reputation, and render him suspected to his Master; accusing him even of forming a Design against his Life. But *Trajan*, to shew how much he rely'd upon the Fidelity of his Friend, having

having receiv'd an Invitation to Sup with him, went freely and unconcern'dly ; then purposely sending back all his Guards, he order'd *Sura's* Physician and Barber to be brought to him, commanding the former to take off his Hair about his Eye-Brows, and the latter to shave off his Beard ; after which he bath'd himself, and remain'd fearlessly among *Sura's* Friends and Companions. Upon this Trial he return'd to his Palace, and recounting all Circumstances, told the Accusers, *That if Sura had any Designs against his Life, he gave him the fairest and safest Occasion to execute them ; and his neglect of it was a plain Indication that no such Design was ever form'd.* The Death of *Sura*, not long after, was a great Affliction to the Emperor, who honour'd his Memory with publick Statues for his many Services to him and the Publick : Which was an Honour which the Emperor was pleas'd to bestow upon the Memories of many Worthy Persons ; and no Prince was more remarkable for his generous and grateful Acknowledgments of the real and publick Services of his Subjects. And tho' by reason of his great Affairs, he was not very excellent in the Skill of Arts and Sciences, yet no Prince in the World us'd greater Munificence, and gave greater Encouragement to Learning and Learned Men than he, there being many of eminent Note in this Reign. For besides his famous Greek Master *Plutarch* before-mention'd, there flourish'd *Pliny* the Younger, who, in his Panegyrick upon *Trajan*, which he deliver'd in the Senate-House, when he was Consul, gives us the true Exemplar of an excellent Orator, as well as of a good Prince. And amongst many others flourish'd *Suetonius*, who writ the Lives of the Twelve *Cæsars*, with the same Freedom as they liv'd

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then ; *Lucius Florus*, who has left us a neat, tho' irregular Compendium of the *Roman History*; *Cornelius Tacitus*, a most sublime and grave, tho' sometimes obscure Historian, famous for his Political Reflections and profound Sense; and *Lucian*, that great Scoffer at Christianity and Religion, remarkable for his great Wit and pure *Greek*, who began to flourish in this Reign.

For Nine Years space *Trajan* reign'd with great Success and Prosperity, without any Blemish or Disorder in his Government; at which Time he began to look upon the Numbers of the *Christians*, with an extream jealous and suspicious Eye; dreading them not only as the Underminers of the Religion of the Empire, and Enemies to their Gods, but also judging them to be Establishers of *Heteriæ*, or *illegal Societies*, which usually were the Breeders of Faction and Sedition. In the number of which *Heteriæ* all Colleges and Corporations were accounted, that were not settled either by the Constitution of the Emperor, or the Decree of the Senate; and the Persons frequenting them adjudg'd guilty of High-Treason. Under this plausible Pretence the *Christians* were Persecuted by Governors and other Officers; so that a sharp Persecution broke out in most Parts of the Empire; in which great Numbers of *Christians* fell by the Rage of popular Tumults, as well as by Edicts and Processes. This was the third general Persecution of the Church, which broke out in the Ninth Year of this Emperor's Reign, Sixteen Years after the Beginning of the second by *Domitian*, and Forty two after the Beginning of the first under *Nero*. In this Persecution, *St. Clements*, Bishop of *Rome*, suffer'd Martyrdom, being thrown into the Sea with an Anchor about his Neck; *St. Simeon*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, at a

The third general Persecution.

A. D.

107.

120 Years of Age, being first Scourg'd, and then Crucify'd ; and St. Ignatius, Bishop of *Antioch*, who was condemn'd to be thrown to Wild Beasts at *Rome*, by *Trajan* himself, who had a particular Dispute with him at *Antioch*. This Persecution for a while rag'd in several Parts of the Empire, and was so much the more burdensome, because the *Christians* generally suffer'd under the Notions of Malefactors and Traytors, and under an Emperor fam'd throughout the World for his Justice and Moderation. But it had not continu'd long before *Trajan*, coming to *Antioch*, in order to his Expedition against the *Parthians* and *Armenians*, did there mitigate the Rigour of it: For having receiv'd an Account from *Pliny*, the Proconsul in *Bitthynia*, imploy'd by him for that Purpose, of the Innocency and Simplicity of the *Christians*, that they were a hurtless and inoffensive Generation : And likewise receiving another Account from *Tiberianus*, Governour of *Palestine*, who told him, That he was wearied out in executing the Laws against the *Galilæans*, who crowded to Execution in such Multitudes, that he was at a loss how to proceed : Hereupon the Emperor gave Command, That no particular Inquisition shou'd be made after the *Christians*, tho' if any offer'd themselves they shou'd suffer. By which Means the Persecution, in a great measure ceas'd ; and the Fire which had hitherto rag'd to a great degree, began now to be extinguish'd, and only crept up and down in private Corners.

From *Antioch* *Trajan* march'd with a powerful Army against *Armenia*, taking occasion from the King of *Armenia's* receiving the Crown and Ensigns of a King from the Hands of the King of *Parthia*, acknowledging him for his Superior and Sovereign, when that King ought to have received

Trajan's great Expedition in the East.

Armenia,

Parthia, and

Mesopotamia
conquer'd.

ceiv'd his Authority from *Rome*, according to former Articles. Upon his first Invasion of *Armenia*, the Fame of his Arrival was such, and the Enemies Fears in all Parts so great, that he met with no great Resistance, neither in *Armenia*, nor in the Countries adjoining; and the greatest Part of the Kings, Nobles, and Governors of the Neighbouring Countries, came submissively to him, humbly acknowledging themselves his Subjects, and Him their Lord and Sovereign, bringing with them many rare and noble Presents. Among many other Things of great Value and Curiosity, he was presented with an Horse, for Largeness, Colour, and Shape, the most valuable in the World; which being before taught, upon his approaching the Emperor's Presence, gracefully kneel'd down, and bow'd his Head to the Earth, as it were owning him to be Sovereign of the World. *Trajan* having in a short space subdu'd all the Kingdom of *Armenia*, and gotten *Partamitasites* the King into his Power, he reduc'd the whole Country into a Province of the Empire; and at the same time rewarded those Kings and Tetrarchs who were in his Service, with many noble and munificent Presents, fining others great Sums, according to their several Actions and Deserts. And leaving all Things in good Order, and sufficient Garrisons to secure the Country, he march'd forwards with his Victorious Army, Conquering the Dominions of the King of *Parthia*, and then enter'd that Opulent Country of *Mesopotamia*, where he took the City of *Nisibe*, and other Places, and made that Kingdom like *Armenia*, a Province of the Empire. In all which the King of *Parthia* was constrain'd to submit, after many Skirmishes, Encounters, Attacks, Sieges, and a Thousand noble

noble Acts, perform'd by this Emperor; wherein he not only shew'd himself a Person of infinite Courage, Valour, and Industry, but likewise of no less Skill and Conduct, as well as exact Policy and Discipline. The Fame of these mighty Victories daily fill'd the Ears of the Senate and People of *Rome*, who order'd great Sacrifices and Thanksgivings, and conferr'd new Honours and Titles upon him, particularly decreeing him the Name of *Optimus* or *Most Excellent*, and likewise the Surnames of *Armenicus* and *Parthicus*, and other Titles, upon the Account of these extraordinary Conquests.

After this great Success, and enlarging the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire, he desir'd to repose himself for some few Days, and therefore determin'd to pass the Winter in *Syria*; where disposing of his Army to the best Advantage, he lodg'd himself in *Antioch*; to which City repair'd a numerous and splendid Concourse of many Kings, Potentates, and Ambassadors from several Parts of the *East*, all to attend this mighty Emperor. Continuing there in great Affluence and Prosperity, and surrounded by such a glorious Train of Monarchs and Crown'd Heads, he and the whole City were surpriz'd with the most astonishing Accident that cou'd be imagin'd; which was an Earthquake, the most dreadful and amazing that ever happen'd in any Age whatsoever. It was in a manner general, but *Syria*, and especially *Antioch* felt the greatest share of its Fury; it beginning with a most furious Storm and Whirl-wind, which tore up an infinite number of Trees and Houses, and brought down the Birds to the Earth; which was succeeded with such dreadful Lightnings and Thunders, as Overthrew the most stately Pa-

laces and Buildings in *Antioch*, and it seem'd as tho' the World was all in Flames, and the Earth open'd to devour all Humane Kind. The Sea was also in a wonderful Motion, which was seconded with such extream Heats, that Men were oblig'd to strip themselves and go under Ground. Many Cities in the *East* were likewise ruin'd, many Hills and Mountains sunk and become Plain, many Rivers were dry'd up, and many Waters and Fountains sprung up in new Places. In the City of *Antioch* almost all the Houses and Building were intirely demolish'd, and many Thousands of People slain; particularly *Pedo* the Consul; and *Trajan* himself was in great danger of his Life, escaping by a sudden leaping out of a Window into the Fields, where he was constrain'd to remain for many Days in Tents. Some write he was held in the Air by an unknown Hand for some space; and 'tis believ'd by many, that these Calamities were Instances of the divine Displeasure for the Severities towards the *Christians*; and that these caus'd some Remorse in *Trajan's* Mind upon their Account, and dispos'd him to a better Opinion of that Religion in the rest of his Reign, it being now about his 17th. Year, *A. D.* 115.

Trajan with great Diligence and Industry repair'd *Antioch* and the other Cities that suffer'd by this Calamity; and the following Summer he gather'd all his Forces together, and parted from *Antioch* to proceed in his famous Expeditions he had begun; directing his March towards the *East*, to make a Conquest of *Assyria* and *Chaldea*, with the Renown'd City of *Babylon*, Capital of the ancient Monarchy of the *Assyrians*. And being to pass the famous River *Euphrates*, at a large winding of it, he was oblig'd to encounter many great

great Difficulties and Dangers: For the *Parthians*, with their utmost Power, endeavour'd to stop his Passage; but *Trajan*, by his indefatigable Toil and Industry, found out a Remedy for this Inconvenience, secretly causing Boats to be made upon the adjoining Mountains, and bringing them upon Carriages to the Water-side, suddenly made a Bridge over the River, and pass'd his Army with great Celerity, but not without great Slaughter and Danger on both sides. Having pass'd the River, he boldly advanc'd forward, Conquering and Subduing Cities and Castles in all Parts, and among the rest the great City of *Arbela* in *Assyria*, in whose Fields *Alexander* the Great Overthrew King *Darius*. After which he still continu'd his successful Progress, and conquer'd other Countries where the *Roman* Standards had never been before display'd: And from thence, without meeting any great Opposition, he advanc'd up to the Walls of the Famous City *Babylon*, of the Power and Greatness of which we read such Wonders; and taking it by Force of Arms, he also subdu'd all its Territories; by which Means he became intire Master of those rich and noble Countries *Chaldaea* and *Assyria*. From thence he march'd by Land to the River *Tigris*, and shortly after assaulted and took the great City *Ctesiphon*, which afforded him an entrance into *Persia*, where he still made new Conquests, and gain'd new Places to the Wonder and Terror of all Nations. But for the Particulars of these great Wars and Conquests, Authors have been too brief and succinct; and by Reason of the Loss of others, many noble Acts and great Exploits of this Emperor are unknown to us.

Chaldaea and Assyria Conquer'd.

Further Con-
quests.

Trajan having made himself Lord of all those Nations about the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, with other Countries and Provinces adjoyning; he took new Ways, and went down the River *Tigris* towards the *Persian Gulf*, to subdue a mighty King call'd *Athabylus*, who inhabited a Considerable Island, made by the divided Streams of that River. At the Emperor's Arrival, the Terror of his Arms was so great, that the King and Inhabitants of those Parts submitted, yielding up all into his Hands. But here he met with exceeding great Dangers and Inconveniencies; for, Winter coming on, he was afflicted with such violent Rains, Storms and Tempests, together with such Inundations of the *Tigris*, that he was in danger of losing the greatest Part of his Army. After which, with indefatigable Pains he fitted out a large Fleet, and sailing down the *Persian Gulf*, enter'd the vast Oriental Ocean, conquering even to the *Indies*, and subduing them to the *Roman Empire*; having first receiv'd Information of those Countries, by certain Merchant Ships sailing into those Parts. But this vast Attempt against the *Indies*, and along those Coasts, succeeded not long according to *Trajan's* Expectation: For not only the Revolts of some of his new Conquests, oblig'd him to shorten his intended Voyage and Expedition; but likewise the Scarcity of Provisions, and Conveniencies on these Coasts and Countries, quite opposite to the fam'd Reports of their Fertility and Abundance, was a Means to draw him from such distant Parts of the World. For which Causes any further Attempts seem'd unworthy of so great an Emperor; especially since he found himself too aged and unweildy for extraordinary Fatigues; therefore he resolv'd to return with his Fleet to the *Persian Gulf*. Upon these Seas

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Seas he began to reflect upon the Defects of Age, and the Decay of Vigour, and said, *If the Divine Powers had preserv'd to him his former Health and Strength, he wou'd not have rested till he had attain'd the utmost and remotest Confines of the World: And that he accounted Alexander the Great infinitely happy in beginning his Reign so very young; yet he still purpos'd to pass further than he.* And so he wrote to the Senate of Rome, and sent them the particular Relations and Names of all the several Nations he had Conquer'd and Subdu'd, which were so many, that *Dion* tells us, they cou'd scarcely be number'd or nam'd. Upon which the Senate order'd new Sacrifices and Thanksgivings, and decreed him many new and additional Honours, and among the rest a Triumphal Arch, of great Beauty and Magnificence, for the better Preservation of his Memory to future Ages.

Trajan thus returning to the *Persian* Gulf, and landing near the Mouth of the *Tigris*, he speedily took Order for the Recovery of those Places which had revolted, sending two Commanders call'd *Lucius* and *Maximus*, with powerful Armies. These in the beginning had ill Success; for *Maximus* in a Battel against the *Parthians*, was overthrown and slain: But *Lucius* afterwards reinforcing and relieving his Army, obtain'd several Victories over the Enemy, and recover'd the City of *Nisibe* in *Mesopotamia*, and others which had revolted; doing the like to the City *Edessa* in the same Province, which for some particular Crimes he laid in Ashes. And while *Lucius* was thus employ'd, *Euricius* and *Clarius*, two other Commanders of the Emperor's, successfully proceeded against others who had likewise revolted, from whom they took the City of *Seleucia*, upon the
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the river *Tigris*, and other Cities which the *Parthians* had recovered in those Parts. So that in a short Space *Trajan* not only retook all those Countries which had revolted, but likewise conquer'd many other Cities and Provinces; by which Means he became Lord of the greatest and best Parts of *Asia*. And what is an additional Honour to all his Conquests and Victories, during the whole time of his carrying on these Wars, so very remote and distant from *Rome*, so great was his Wisdom and careful Management, that no Tumult or Disorder ever hapned in the City. Now this wise and great Emperor finding himself weary'd out with Age and Labour, and judging it impossible for one Man rightly to govern so vast and unweildy an Empire as that of *Rome*, especially those Provinces taken from the untameable *Parthians*; he resolv'd to settle a King in *Parthia* and *Persia*, of his own chusing, which King shou'd be a Vassal to the *Roman* Empire, reserving to the Emperors the supream Jurisdiction and Sovereignty. With this Resolution *Trajan* repaired to the great City *Ctesiphon* in *Persia*; and convoking the principal of the *Parthian* Nation, who gladly gave him Security for Obedience to the *Roman* Empire, he with great Pomp and Solemnity, Crown'd one of the Royal Line of *Parthia* call'd *Parthaspates*, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of that Nation. Afterwards he did the like in the Kingdom of *Albania* in *Asia*, near the *Caspian* Sea; establishing there a King to govern that Kingdom; and placing Governours and Lieutenants in other Provinces, he enlarg'd the Bounds and Limits of the *Roman* Empire, beyond the River *Tigris*, where the Name of the *Romans* till now had scarcely been heard of; it being now above 4000 Miles in length. And having ended all Wars in the

the *East* with great Glory and Renown, and establish'd all Countries with no less Wisdom and Understanding; he resolv'd to direct his Journey towards *Italy* and *Rome*, in a more magnificent and triumphant Manner than any of all his Predecessors.

Before the finishing of these last Wars, and full Settlement of the *East*, the *Jews*, who had been dispersed into all Parts of the World, fell into a dreadful Rebellion in several Provinces of the Empire; taking Occasion from *Trajan's* distant Expeditions, but more especially from the late terrible Earthquakes, which, as they believ'd, portended the Ruin and Downfall of the *Roman* Empire. Having enter'd into a Conspiracy, they made incredible Slaughters and barbarous Massacres upon *Romans* and *Greeks* of all Ranks and Degrees, without either Discretion or Mercy. This Rebellion began first in *Cyrene*, a *Roman* Province in *Africa*, shortly after in *Egypt*, and next in the Island of *Cyprus*, which Places they in a manner dispeopled, so great and boundless was their Rage and Fury. Their Barbarities were so hainous and outrageous, that they eat Mens Flesh, besmear'd themselves with their Blood, wore their Skins, sawed them asunder, cast them to wild Beasts, made them kill each other, and put them to all Kinds of Torments. Besides the particular Slaughters they committed throughout *Egypt*, in *Cyrene* they slew 200000, and in *Cyprus* 250000. *Trajan* was then about returning into *Italy*, and finding the pernicious Effects of these Barbarities, in a great Rage resolv'd to pursue these impious Wretches throughout his Dominions, not as Enemies or Rebels, but as Creatures noxious and destructive to Humane Society, with a Revenge answerable to the Vastness of their Crimes; which he

*Rebellion and
Miseries of the
Jews.*

he speedily effected, under the Conduct of several Commanders both by Sea and Land. These, after many cruel and bloody Hostilities, severely chastis'd that obstinate and rebellious Nation, whom God had now forsaken, leaving them to be treated as the Venom and Pests of Mankind, and to be destroy'd in infinite Numbers by all Kinds of Deaths; which prov'd the most terrible Execution and Punishment, that ever hapned to any Nation in the World. The Carriage and Behaviour of those in *Cyrene* and *Cyprus*, caus'd the Emperor to suspect their Brethren in *Mesopotamia*; and upon that order'd *L. Quintius* to banish all out of that Country, which was soon effected with the Destruction of great Numbers by Acts of Hostility. And because the Cruelties of the *Jews* were most notorious in *Cyprus*, partly for the future Security of the *Cypriots*, and partly to brand the *Jews* with Infamy, it was publicly enacted, *That no Jew, tho' driven by Tempests, shou'd presume to set Foot in Cyprus, upon Pain of immediate Execution, as already condemned by his very Appearance on that Soil, which had been tainted with the deadly Venom of his Country-Men.*

This great Slaughter and Punishment being abated, *Trajan* taking good Order about the Affairs of *Asia*, began his Journey towards *Italy*, leaving his Cousin *Adrian* General of all his Forces in the *East*; and so continu'd his Journey, cover'd with infinite Glories and Honours; there being in *Rome* the most Magnificent Triumph, and Solemn Reception prepar'd for him that ever had been known since the Building of the City. But coming into the Province of *Cilicia* in the lesser *Asia*, he found himself weak and declining; and his Distemper increasing, he order'd himself to be

be carry'd to the City of *Seleucia*, where within a few Days after, he dy'd of a Flux, tho' some suspect Poyson to have been the Cause. Thus dy'd the mighty *Trajan*, the 14th Emperor of *Rome*, in the 63^d Year of his Age, after a Triumphant Reign of 19 Years, six Months and 15 Days; a Prince of incomparable Abilities, either for the Command of an Army, or the Government of an Empire; and had not his Actions been stain'd with his Severities to the *Christians*, he might have been esteem'd the most Matchless Prince in all the *Pagan* World. His great Vertues and Excellencies, made his Memory so dear and precious to the *Romans*, that, besides those many and divine Honours they shew'd to him after his Death, it became a Custom in succeeding Reigns, when they pour'd out their Blessings upon their new chosen Emperors, they wish'd them the Fortune of *Augustus*, and the Goodness of *Trajan*, as the greatest Happiness they could possibly enjoy; a Thing worthy to be consider'd by all Princes, whose good or bad Actions are certain to make their Memories precious or odious to all future Ages. *Trajan* dy'd in the 870th Year of the City, 142 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 117 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 46 after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

From the Death of Trajan, to the Death of Antoninus Philosophus, or Marcus Aurelius, the seventeenth Emperor; when the Power and Lustre of the Roman Empire began to decline.

Containing the Space of 63 Years.

A. D. 117.

I. THE Roman Empire was never so large and spacious as at present, nor was it ever so formidable to the rest of the World, as at the Time when *Trajan* left it; tho' not long after it began to sink by the Unweildiness of its Bulk, and the Vastness of its own Weight. The Death of this Prince brought a general Sorrow and Mourning upon the whole Empire; and tho' he had the Enjoyment of the largest Authority, and greatest Revenues of any in the World, he wanted the Power of producing an Heir to succeed him after his Decease. He had neither Son nor Daughter, nor wou'd he adopt any Person for his Successor, as some believe, imitating *Alexander the Great*, whom he ever endeavour'd to excell in Honour and Renown. But his Wife *Plotina*, finding his Nephew *Alius Adrian*, or *Hadrian*, a Person of great Authority and Popularity, and no less Wisdom and Merits, endeavour'd with great Diligence and Policy to gain him the Empire. In order to effect this great Design, the Death of *Trajan* according to Agreement, was for some Space conceal'd, till *Adrian* had founded the Inclination of his Army, and *Plotina* the Nobility of *Rome*, and shortly after she produc'd a forg'd Instrument,

Instrument, importing That *Trajan* had adopted him for his Son and Successor. Finally their Policies and Artifices succeeded so well, that the Design took effect, and the Army immediately swore Obedience and did Homage to *Adrian*; notwithstanding his being absent from *Rome*, and in the City of *Antioch*, where he had been left by *Trajan*, as General of all the Forces in the *East*. Upon Notice of this Success, he immediately wrote to the Senate, entreating To be confirm'd in the Empire; which Request, after a little Consideration of his Merits and Alliance with *Trajan*, was easily granted, and he acknowledg'd and obey'd by all Men as Emperor. *Adrian* was by Birth a *Spaniard*, and of *Italica*, the same City where *Trajan* was born, his Mother's Name being *Domitia Paulina* of *Cales* in *Spain*. He was Nephew to *Trajan* by his Mother, others say by his Father, tho' some say he was Son of his Cousin German; and was Marry'd to *Sabina*, *Trajan's* Sister's Daughter. When he enter'd upon the Empire, he was about forty Years of Age, being a Prince highly acceptable, and promising to the *Roman State*; for he had in the last Reign born the highest Offices both Civil and Military, which he discharg'd with Honour and Reputation.

Adrian made Emperor.

Shortly after the Death of *Trajan*, before *Adrian* left the *East*, the *Parthians* and some other Nations lately conquer'd, reassum'd their former Courages, and began to make Revolts; and likewise in *Britain* and some other Parts there began to be some Alterations and Insurrections. All which *Adrian* might with no Difficulty have pacify'd and suppress'd by the Force and Power of his Arms, and wanted neither Courage nor Forces to effect it; but he thought it most convenient to decline the Extremities of War and Violence. For
this

this Emperor was but little Inferior to his Uncle in Courage and Arms, yet he much differ'd in his Temper and Inclinations: *Trajan* had a mighty Thirst after Honour and Fame, and grasp'd at all Conquests and Means, to enlarge the Bounds of the *Roman* Empire; but *Adrian's* principal Care was to preserve the ancient Limits intire, without any ambitious Prospects of farther Conquests. Therefore in the Beginning of his Reign, he in a great Measure abandon'd the Provinces of the *Parthians*, and other Provinces of the *East*, beyond the *Euphrates* to the *Indies*, which *Trajan* had Conquered; judging *Parthia*, *Media*, *Mesopotamia*, and the rest of those distant Provinces, to be of a greater Inconvenience to the *Roman* Empire, than Advantage; and for the better Safety and Security of other Places, he made *Euphrates* the Boundary and Barrier in those Parts, and plac'd his Legions about the Banks of that River. Some are of Opinion, that he did this out of a secret Envy and tacit Detraction of his Uncle *Trajan's* Glory and Reputation; tho' others more justly commend it as a politick and prudent Action, and for the Good of the Empire. Having thus settled Affairs in the *East*, he left *Catilius Severus* Governour of *Syria*; and suppressing some Disturbances lately rais'd by the *Jews*, he took his Journey by Land towards *Italy*, and sent the Ashes of *Trajan* by Sea. Upon his nigh Approach to *Rome*, he was inform'd That a Magnificent Triumph was prepared for him in the same Manner, as was provided for his Uncle *Trajan*, as being his Companion in all the same Wars and Conquests: But he wholly refus'd that Honour, judging himself not Worthy of it, and order'd that the same Triumph and Entertainment shou'd be given to *Trajan's* Image; which was perform'd with a wonder-

wonderful Pomp and Solemnity; and 'tis observ'd, That he was the only Man that ever triumph'd after he was dead. His Ashes were plac'd in a golden Urn upon the Top of a lofty Pillar of 140 Foot high, and of curious Workmanship, representing the Particulars of all his Noble Exploits, which remains to this Day, still going by the Name of *Trajan's Pillar*. Besides their deifying him after the *Roman* Custom, in Honour of him, they instituted New Games call'd *Parthica*, which continu'd for many Ages; so highly was this Emperor belov'd, and so dear his Memory to all his Subjects.

Adrian began his Reign with the great Love and Applause of all Men, and immediately perform'd many Parts of an excellent Prince, conformable to the Course of his past Life, and the future Hopes conceiv'd of him. His Parts and Qualifications were admirable, and scarce any Prince in the World was more remarkable for the Excellency and Variety of his Endowments. He was capable of comprehending whatsoever he desir'd, and was highly skillful in all Exercises both of Body and Mind, and wanted no Strength nor Abilities either for Arms or Learning, in which he industriously endeavour'd to excell all Men. He compos'd excellently well both in Prose and Verse, pleaded Causes, and became perfect in Oratory; but so much affected the Stile and Phrase of ancient Times, that he preferr'd *Cato* before *Cicero*, *Emilius* before *Virgil*, and *Cæcilius* before *Sallust*. He was a singular Mathematician, and a Master of all its several Parts; and was no less skillful in Physick, knowing the Vertues and Properties of all Herbs and Minerals. In Drawing and Paintings he was equal to the greatest Masters;

and was an excellent Musician, and sung to Admiration. Besides all he had a Memory beyond Belief, and could exactly retain all Places, Businesses, and Soldiers, calling them all by their Names, tho' he had been long absent from them; and moreover was of such a Capacity, that he could Endite, Write and Confer of Business all at one Instant. Finally he is said to be as much Master of all Arts and Sciences, as almost any Man could be of one; being likewise very expert and politick in Wars and Military Discipline, and was very strong, able and skillful in Arms, both on Foot and Horse-back: And was also much addicted to all sorts of Huntings, in which he was so dextrous, that with his own Hands, he frequently kill'd Lions, Bears, Wild Boars, and other fierce Beasts. And tho' he ever lov'd, and continually endeavour'd the Peace of the Roman Empire, yet in all his Reign, he had a more than ordinary Care of Martial Discipline; severely punishing the Vices and Licentiousness of Soldiers, correcting and reforming past Errors, and prescribing new Rules for the future.

Shortly after his Entrance into the City, *Adrian* by an Edict remitted all Debts due to the Emperor and Exchequer, that were of above ten Years Continuance. At his Birth-Day he exhibited many Shews and Games to the People, ordering many wild Beasts to be baited and encounter'd, particularly an hundred Lions, and as many Lionesses; and besides gave great Gifts in distinct Portions, both to Men and Women in the Cirques and Theatres. He much recommended himself by several Acts of Generosity and Moderation; and particularly encreas'd the Allowance which by *Trajan* had been given to the Maintenance of great

great Numbers of poor Children, relieving likewise many decay'd Noble-Men and Senators, whose Misfortunēs proceeded from no Fault of theirs. His Moderation and Clemency appear'd by his pardoning the Injuries that were done him before he was Emperor; and having once met a Person who had offended him, he said, *You have escaped, since I am made Emperor.* He was very ready in bestowing Favours upon all Men, abated the Tributes and Subsidies through the Empire, administer'd Justice with Exactness, and acted all Things by the Council and Advice of the Senate, and of wise Men which he kept about him, and carry'd with him in all his Travels; for he not only desir'd to be inform'd, but likewise to be advis'd, and reprov'd, if occasion requir'd it: And he often declar'd in open Court and Senate, *That he wou'd govern the Republick, so as to procure the Peoples Good, not his own.* Upon solemn Days he commonly waited upon the Consuls to their own Houses, and familiarly convers'd with Men of Reputation, visiting them in their Sickness twice or thrice in a Day, and treating them with all the Kindness and Familiarity of Companions. Yet notwithstanding all these Noble Vertues and Qualifications, he was not free from many great Vices and Imperfections; and he is observ'd to have had a strange and unusual Mixture of both, so as to seem to reconcile most Vices with their contrary Vertues. For in the midst of his Excellencies, he was Noted to be proud and vain-glorious, envious and detracting, cruel and revengefull; which last appear'd from his putting some eminent Person to Death at his Arrival to the Empire. However he had an uncommon Faculty of commanding and governing his Affections,

A Persecution
of the Chri-
stians.

A. D. 118.

and by a mighty Artifice cover'd his insolent, envious, fullen, and wanton Disposition: But he shew'd himself more publick in his Severities to the *Christians*, countenancing or permitting their Persecution in several Parts of the Empire. This began in the Second Year of his Reign, and by Reason of the Sharpness of it, and its long Continuance, many have accounted it the Fourth General Persecution: But it is not generally reckon'd so by the Fathers of the Church, since no new Edicts were issued out against the *Christians*, but only *Trajan's* Laws still in Force were again put in Execution, so that it may be call'd a Revival, or perhaps a Continuance of the Third Persecution, which was not intirely ceas'd in *Trajan's* Reign.

In the same Year that this Persecution was begun or reviv'd, several of the Northern Nations, as the *Alanes*, *Scythians* in Europe, the *Sarmatians* and *Dacians*, began to make Devastations in the Roman Empire. Against these barbarous Nations *Adrian* himself parted from *Rome*, with a very powerful Army; but upon his near Approach to their Countries, the Name of *Adrian*, the Lieutenant of *Trajan*, brought them to a Submission; which being readily accepted by the Emperor, ended all present Contests. The better to have eas'd the Roman State, he determin'd to have quit- ted the Province of *Dacia* for the future, but was deterr'd from that Design by his Friends, who made it appear, That *Rome* wou'd then be much expos'd to the Insults of the Northern Nations; so that he only broke down the famous Bridge that *Trajan* had built over the *Danube*, the better to prevent their Incursions. In this Journey, a Conspiracy was discover'd against his Person, which occasion'd

occasion'd the Execution of four Consular Persons; and this Execution was disown'd by the Emperor, as done without his Consent and Approbation. Therefore leaving *Marcus Turbo* Governor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*, he return'd speedily to *Rome*, to purge himself from the Infamy and Envy of this Fact, making a large Congiary or Distribution of Money among the People, conferring great Favours and Privileges upon many, and exhibiting magnificent Games and Spectacles to the City; not forgetting a careful Execution of Justice in his Government. Staying at *Rome* for a shorter Time than before, he resolv'd to visit the whole Empire in Person, to see that all Things were regulated and establish'd to the Honour and Safety of the Publick; and taking with him a splendid Court and a considerable Force, he first enter'd the Province of *Gaul*, where he made a Lustration of all the Inhabitants, view'd the Chief Cities and Fortifications, and gave many Marks of his Favour, as he did in all other Places of the Empire. In his Travels he usually said, *That an Emperor ought to imitate the Sun, who carries his Light through all the Corners and Regions of the Earth*; and he most commonly travell'd on Foot, and always with his Head bare, making no Distinction between the frozen Mountains of the *Alps*, and the scorching Sands of *Egypt*. From *Gaul* he went into *Germany*, carefully surveying the Legions and Armies there; and tho' he endeavour'd to preserve Peace rather than promote Wars, yet he strictly kept his Soldiers to true Discipline and Hardships, and carefully banish'd all Luxury and Delicacies from the Camp. Here he conform'd himself to the Lives and Habits of the ordinary Soldiers, eating their Ammunition-Bread,

Adrian's
Journey.

Bacon, and Cheese, after the Examples of the Younger *Scipio* and *Metellus*; and besides gave several Rewards to deserving Persons, and made many wise Rules for Lifting Men, and other Matters to the Improvement of Power and Order.

After some stay in *Germany*, he enter'd *Belgium*, and from thence pass'd over into *Britain*, where he reform'd many Abuses, and reconcil'd the Inhabitants and *Romans* which dwelt there, as well the Garrisons, as the Natives and Colonies. And for the better Establishment of future Peace and Security, he caus'd a mighty Wall to be made of Wood and Earth, extending from the River *Eden* in *Cumberland*, to the *Tine* in *Northumberland*, eighty Miles in length; and all to prevent the Incurfion of the wilder *Britains*, and dangerous Neighbours, that daily disturb'd the Peace of the *Romans*. This stupendious Work was begun in the Third Year of his Reign; and having taken all necessary Care in this Island, the Emperor return'd into *Gaul*, where he erected some famous Buildings, some to the Honour of *Plotina*, and conferr'd many Favours and Honours in that Country. Having thus visited all *Gaul* and the Borders, he directed his Journey for *Spain*, and at his Arrival, he was receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction, being a Native of that Country. After he had view'd and visited many Places, he took up his Winter-Quarters in the City of *Taragon*, where he call'd a Meeting or Parliament of all the Provinces in *Spain*, and ordain'd many Things for the Good and Benefit of that Country. After the Extremity of the Winter was past, he reviv'd his Journey, and travell'd through all *Spain*, visiting the several Cities, and bestowing many Favours upon them; especially his own Country

Italica

*A famous
Wall in Bri-
tain.*

Italica and *Seville*; to which he granted many great Exemptions, and several peculiar Privileges, but went not thither himself. Thus having travell'd over all *Spain*, and the Eastern Parts of the Empire, he return'd towards *Rome*, designing after some convenient Stay there, to survey the rest of the *Roman* Empire, which was much the largest Part; and at this Time he appointed the exact Limits and Bounds of the Empire, from the barbarous Nations on the North. Where there wanted Rivers, and other natural Marks and Divisions, he made use of large Stones, Pillars, Trees, and other Things; and to the High *Germans*, who at that time were free, he appointed a King, which gain'd him a great Respect among those People who were ready to revolt.

Adrian being now a third Time at *Rome* in great Peace and Prosperity, he busied himself with the Affairs of the City, and the frequent Conversation of Ingenious and Learned Men. Of these he was a great Encourager and munificent Patron; and had with him Philosophers, Astronomers, Poets, Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Musicians, Geometricians, Architects, and excellent Painters and Statuaries; most of which he surpass'd in their own Skill, and he frequently declar'd, *That he never neglected or omitted any Kind of Learning or Knowledge that might be useful in Peace or War, either for an Emperor or a private Person.* But as extraordinary Parts and Curiosity are too often accompanied with an envious and censorious Temper, so this Emperor bore a secret Hatred to several worthy Persons whose Learning and Ingenuity had gain'd them a more than ordinary Reputation. And tho' he openly carest and entertain'd Learned Men with great Satisfaction, yet

he had a great Jealousie of such as any Ways excell'd him; and he took such an exceeding Delight in puzzling and conquering others in Disputes and Arguments, that many yielded their Causes when the Advantage was on their Side. As *Favonius* did, an ingenious Man, who owning himself worsted by the Emperor, when he could with ease have repell'd the Force of his Arguments, and being blam'd by his Friends for such a Concession, made answer, *Ought not I to give Place to a Man who has Thirty Legions at his Command?* But this envious and ambitious Temper of *Adrian's* sometimes proceeded to open Violence and Punishment of great Artists, and particularly to the Executing of *Apollodorus* the Architect, for freely shewing him the Errors of his own new Buildings. *Similis* the Captain of his Guards being envy'd for some extraordinary Skill, got leave to retire, and living quietly seven Years after in the Country, order'd this Inscription on his Tomb, *Here lies Similis, whose Life consisted of Sixty seven Years, yet liv'd but Seven.* In this Reign flourish'd the Chief of the Jurisconsults or Lawyers, and particularly *Julian*, who compos'd the Perpetual Edict by the Emperor's Command, to serve as a Rule for all the succeeding *Prætors* in *Rome*; being call'd *Edictum Perpetuum*, because it was to continue in Force for ever. Besides him, among other Learned Men and Writers, flourish'd *Ptolomy* of *Alexandria*, the famous Astronomer; *Pblegon*, *Adrian's* Freed-man, eminent for his exact Calculation of the Olympiads; *Arrian*, who wrote the Expedition of *Alexander* the Great; and *Aulus Gellius*, the Learned Author of the *Noctes Atticæ*.

The Emperor continuing in *Rome* for a considerable Space, towards the Seventh Year of his Reign

Edictum Perpetuum.

Reign he receiv'd Intelligence that the *Parthians* began to make War against the Empire; which caus'd him to hasten his Journey into the East; and making all necessary Preparations, he resolv'd to prosecute the War in Person, which so alarm'd the Enemy, that they immediately su'd for a Peace, and obtain'd it. This gave *Adrian* an Opportunity of pursuing his Travels without Molestation; and beginning his Journey, he shortly arriv'd in the Lesser *Asia*, from whence he turn'd back into *Greece* to the renown'd City of *Athens*. Here he made a considerable Stay, took upon him the Place and Honour of *Archon*, celebrated their Solemn Sports, and gave many particular Laws and Privileges to that City, but especially was enter'd into their *Eleusinian* Mysteries, which were accounted the most Sacred and Venerable of the whole Gentile World, and by Way of Eminence were particularly styl'd *The Mysteries*. The Emperor's busie and superstitious Zeal in this Place, was a sufficient Warrant for many to pursue and oppress the *Christians* more severely than formerly; which caus'd the Persecution to grow so fierce and hot, that they were forc'd to remonstrate and declare their Case to the Emperor himself. And particularly *St. Quadratus*, Bishop of *Athens*, and *Aristides* a Christian Philosopher in the same City, presented Apologies to *Adrian*, defending the Christian Religion from the Exceptions and Calumnies of its Enemies, and vindicating it from those Pretences upon which ill Men sought its Ruine and Destruction; and above all, they particularly urg'd our Saviour's Miracles, his Curing Diseases, and Raising the Dead, of which some Instances were still alive. These Apologies, and Letters from *Serenius Granianus* Proconsul of *Asia*, which represented the unjust Proceedings against

A. D.
124.

against the *Christians*, took off the Keenneſs of the Emperor's Fury, and caus'd him to write to the Governors of Provinces, *That the Christians ſhou'd not be puniſh'd for the future, except they had manifeſtly tranſgreſs the Laws of the Empire.* And he was likewiſe ſo far wrought into a good Opinion of *Chriſtianity*, that *Lampridius* tells us, he deſign'd to build a Temple to *Chriſt*, and to receive him into the Number of their Gods; and that he commanded Temples to be built in all Cities without Images, which were for a long ſpace call'd *Adriani*; but was ſtopp'd in his Proceedings by ſome, who conſulting the Oracle had been told, that if this ſucceeded, the *Pagan* Temples wou'd be deſerted, and all Men become *Chriſtians*.

After a whole Winters continuance in *Athens*, the Emperor return'd towards *Italy*, taking *Sicily* by his Way, where he viſited *Atna* the famous Burning Mountain, and the principal Places of that Iſland, and after that return'd a fourth time to *Rome*. But after a ſhort Stay, he prepar'd Ships and Gallies, and croſs'd the *Mediterranean* into *Africk*, where he was receiv'd with incredible Joy and Satisfaction, not only for the Eſteem the Inhabitants had for him, but alſo becauſe his Arrival was attended with plentiful Showers of Rain, which the Country had wanted for five Years together. Here the Emperor ſpent much Time in regulating and reforming the Government, in ending and deciding Controverſies, and in ordering many magnificent Buildings to be erected; among which was his Re-edifying a great Part of the famous City of *Carthage*, which he commanded to be call'd *Adrianople*, according to his own Name. Staying a conſiderable Time in *Africk*,

Africk, he return'd prosperously to *Rome* a fifth Time, where he carefully provided for all other Matters of the Empire ; yet he made no long Stay, but when all expected and hop'd for his Continuance in the City, he suddenly got ready for his Journey into the East. He travell'd a second Time into *Greece*, and viewing all Parts, he caus'd those Buildings and Temples to be finish'd, which he order'd before to be begun, and enjoyn'd others to be built : And thus continuing his Journey, he pass'd over into the Lesser *Asia*, and acted there with the same Care, Prudence, and Exactness as he did in all other Parts. Having gone through the Lesser *Asia* into *Syria*, he by Letters and Messengers invited all the Kings, Terrarchs, and Potentates in those Parts, not only Subjects and Allies, but also Neighbours and Strangers, to consult and converse with him in that Country. Among this numerous and splendid Concourse, the King of *Parthia* was one, to whom he freely sent his Daughter, who had been taken Prisoner by *Trajan* in the former Wars ; for which generous Act many came to his Court to visit, honour, and acknowledge him ; all which he receiv'd with such uncommon Courtesie and Civility, as rais'd the Envy and Concern of all others who neglected this Opportunity. At the Finishing of these magnificent Feasts and Entertainments, after a Survey of *Syria*, the Emperor enter'd *Palestine* and *Judea*, visiting all the principal Cities ; after which he set forwards, and did the like in the subdu'd Part of *Arabia*. From whence he past into *Egypt* ; where he made a longer Stay than in other Parts, viewing the Strength and famous Antiquities of that Country, and in Memory of the Great *Pompey* caus'd a most magnificent

Jerusalem
rebuilt.

A. D. 130.

magnificent Monument to be erected over him, his Tomb being now much ruin'd and decay'd. He also caus'd a City to be Founded in the Name and Memorial of a beautiful Youth, whom he lov'd exceedingly, who dy'd in this Country. And at the same time he commanded the Holy City *Jerusalem* to be rebuilt with great Charge; which was perform'd with admirable Expedition, principally by the Assistance of the *Jews*, who began much to raise their short liv'd Hopes and Expectations. In this the Emperor built a Temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which extreamly offended the *Jews*, and rais'd greater Mischiefs than ever; and likewise chang'd its former Name, and call'd it *Adria Capitolina*, which was done in the 14th Year of his Reign, 59 Years after its Destruction by *Titus*.

These and many other Matters being transacted by *Adrian*, during his Abode in *Asia* and *Egypt*, he return'd into *Europe*; and arriving in *Greece*, he remain'd a considerable space with his whole Court in the City of *Athens*. Being there, in the 16th. Year of his Reign, the *Jews* again rais'd a dangerous Rebellion, destroying what *Romans* they cou'd in *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and other Parts, with an infinite number of *Christians*. They were first incens'd by the Privileges of the *Pagan* Worshippers in their new City, and afterwards confirm'd by one who pretended he came down as a Light from Heaven to deliver them from Slavery and Bondage, declaring, *He was the Star foretold by Baalam*, whence being call'd *Bar-cocab*, he was worshipp'd and receiv'd as the *Messiah*; which brought the *Jews* in all Nations into this Sedition. *Dion* tells us, That the whole World was in a manner shaken by this Commotion

tion of the *Jews*. But *Adrian* speedily sent his best Commanders against this obstinate and perfidious Nation, the chief of which being *Julius Severus*, Governor of *Britain*. And tho' he gain'd the Victory at last, he wou'd not have chosen many Triumphs at the Purchase of so much Blood. But the extraordinary Strength now in the *Jews* was given them for their Destruction; and the more dangerous this Rebellion had been, the more severe was the Emperor's Punishment, and the greater his Care in preventing the like Mischiefs for the future. The War was concluded in two Years time with the Demolishment of fifty of their strongest Cities, the Destruction of 985 of their best Towns, the Death of 580000 Men in Battels and Skirmishes, besides infinite Numbers consum'd by Famines and Diseases, and their whole Land laid waste; which almost prov'd the Extirpation of the *Jewish* Nation. *Adrian* after this strange Desolation, banish'd all *Jews* out of *Judæa*, and by publick Decree prohibited any of them to come in view of that Country, or so much as to look towards their Soil or City. *Dion* tells us, that this Desolation was foretold by the falling asunder of *Solomon's* Sepulchre, and by Wolves and Hyæna's who howl'd about the Streets, and devour'd People in the Fields. This happen'd four Years after the re-edifying of *Jerusalem*, and 63 after the Destruction of that City by *Titus*, and the first Dispersion of the *Jews*. This *Jewish* Insurrection was immediately follow'd by a dangerous Eruption of the *Alani* and *Masagetes*, barbarous Nations of *Scythia Asiatica*, who enter'd *Media* with great Fury, and came into *Armenia*, passing in their Ravages and Devastations as far as *Cappadocia*, where

The last great
Dispersion of
the *Jews*.
A. D. 134.

where *Flavius Arrianus* was Commander for the Emperor. But *Adrian*, who ever chose Peace before an unprofitable War, us'd such Means, and sent such Presents to their King, that they all return'd peaceably into their own Country.

Adrian having establish'd all Matters with great Wisdom and Advantage in the several Parts of the Empire, after he had bestow'd many Gifts and Favours upon the Cities of *Greece*, he resolv'd to conclude his whole Journey, and to return to *Rome* for the rest of his Days, having spent Thirteen Years in surveying the Empire, besides the several Times of his Continuance in *Rome*. This was his sixth and last Time of his Return to the City, where his Entrance was exceeding grateful and acceptable to all People; and tho' he began to be old and unweildy, he was no less diligent in the Publick Administration, than when he had his greatest Strength. He settled all Affairs with extraordinary Order and Regularity; he establish'd the Palatine and Pub'ick Offices, and reduc'd them and the Militia into so good a Form, that they continu'd the same for many Ages. He commanded the Senators and Equites never to appear in Publick, but with their Gowns and proper Habits, except when they return'd from Supper, and he himself was always careful of his Habit, while he was in *Rome* or *Italy*. He allow'd to the Children of Proscrib'd Persons the twelfth Part of their Parents Goods; and Sequester'd the Estates of Idiots; but if they had Children, he gave all to them. He forbid Masters to kill their Slaves, as had been before allow'd, but order'd them to be try'd by the Laws in all Capital Crimes. These and many other Laws and Ordinances he made; but finding him-

self Ancient and Indispos'd, and without Heirs, he took Care for a Successor, and therefore determin'd to adopt some considerable Man that shou'd be worthy of such a Dignity. After many Considerations and Consultations about so weighty a Matter, he at last made choice of *Lucius Commodus*, tho' contrary to the Advices of his Council, a Thing not usual till then; and calling the chief of the Senate to his Bed-side, he told them, *That since Nature had deny'd him a Son, they by the Laws had supply'd that Defect, and granted him one. Birth and Adoption were equal as to the Publick Good; only Birth was often the effects of Fate and Chance, and Adoption the Effects of Choice and Wisdom. Nature had often given Fools to the Damage of a Nation; but Choice generally produc'd Wise-men to the Preservation of its Happiness.* He likewise insisted upon the Vertues and Merits of the Person, and having Adopted him, and entitl'd him *Cæsar*, he chang'd his Name to *Ælius Verus*; ordering likewise the Celebration of the *Circensian Games*, and a Donative to the Soldiers and People. On the same Day he commanded *Severianus*, a great and popular Man, to be Slain, together with his own Nephew *Fuscus*, for certain Suspicions of Treason and Usurpation; and likewise he commanded some others to be put to Death upon Pretences not wholly justifiable, his Infirmities disclosing his innate Cruelty, which before this time had shewn it self too openly in some Instances.

In a short time the bodily Infirmities of the new adopted *Cæsar* appear'd so manifestly, that *Adrian* began to repent of his chusing so feeble a Successor; and he often said, *That he had learn'd*

L. Commodus
Adopted by
Adrian.

L. Commodus
dies.

re-

reliev'd the Emperor's Fears. Upon which he immediately Adopted *Marcus Antoninus* an eminent Man, afterwards surnam'd *Pius*, at the same time obliging him to adopt two others, namely, *Marcus Aurelius* and *Lucius Verus*, two promising Youths, who afterwards became Emperors. All which being establish'd with the Approbation of the Senate and Chief of *Rome*, and the Emperor's Distemper increasing, he caus'd himself to be carry'd to the City of *Baia*,; where his Pains became very tormenting, and sometimes threw him into Convulsions; so that he often endeavour'd to destroy himself, crying out; *How miserable it is to seek Death and not to find him!* He made use of Gifts and Promises, and sometimes Threatnings to provoke his Attendants to kill him; but some alledg'd Pity, some Piety, and others Fear, till at last by the Advice of his Physicians, he abstain'd from all kind of Sustenance, which brought him to an easie Death, often sing the common Saying, *A multitude of Physicians kills the King*; and at the same time sported with some remarkable Verses, enquiring of his Soul, *Whither it design'd to go?* This was the Death of *Adrian*, the Fifteenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the Sixty Second Year of his Age, after a prosperous Reign of 21 Years and 11 Months; a Prince of rare Vertues and Deserts, tho' stain'd with an unhappy Mixture of many Vices and Imperfections; but in his Government and Administration he was admirable, and the Empire receiv'd vast Advantages from his exact Models, and his regular Establishments, which produc'd a Peace and Security more lasting than cou'd have been expected from such a degenerated Republick. His Death happen'd in the 891st Year of the

The Death of
Adrian.

the City, 163 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 138 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 67 after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

II. The Death of *Adrian* was highly lamented A. D. 138.
 in the Empire, but not so universally in the City, by reason of his several severe Executions in his last Sickness; but as the Wisdom of his Government was admir'd by all, so was the Wisdom of his chusing *Marcus Antoninus* no less commended. His Death was no sooner publish'd in the City, but *Antoninus*, his new adopted Successor, was immediately, without any Contradiction, admitted and obey'd for Emperor, according to the appointment of the Senate, before the Death of *Adrian*. *Marcus Antoninus* was a Foreigner, and born in the City of *Nismes* in *Gaul*, his Grand-Father being *Aurelius Fulvius*, and his Father of the same Name, both Noblemen of an ancient Family, who had been Consuls, and held other Offices and Dignities. At his Arrival at the Empire he was above 50 Years of Age, and had pass'd through several honourable Offices, as the Quæstor-ship, the Prætor-ship, and Consul-ship, all which, with some other Offices and Magistracies, he worthily discharg'd. He afterwards shew'd himself to be one of the most excellent Princes in the World for Vertue and Bounty; and govern'd the Empire with the greatest Authority, Justice, Moderation, and Clemency. He had a graceful Aspect, and happy Constitution of Body, was very Mild and Temperate, a great Lover of Hunting and Husbandry, well Learn'd, and singularly Eloquent; and was so intirely free from all kinds of Vices, that in that he much exceeded *Trajan*, and the best of his Predecessors. For

Y

which

*Antoninus
Pius made
Emperor.*

which Reason, the wise Men in his Time compar'd him to *Numa Pompilius*, the second King of *Rome*; and upon several Accounts he had the Surname of *Pius* given him by the Senate; and at the same time he was stil'd *Father of Vertues*. Authors have been too succinct in this Reign, and since it was in great measure free from Foreign and Domestick Disturbances, they have principally treated of the Personal Qualifications of the Emperor: For which reason, in this and several other Reigns, I am oblig'd sometimes to descend a little from the Quality of an *Historian*, and comply with the Sterility and Courteseness of my Materials.

Antoninus, according to his Merciful Temper, made it his first Care to free those Persons whom *Adrian* had condemn'd in his last Sickness, and not Executed; then taking his Remains to *Rome*, with great Pomp and Solemnity he bury'd them in the Gardens of *Domitia*; and notwithstanding he was oppos'd by most Men, he deify'd *Adrian* according to the *Roman* Custom. The Senate shortly after not only gave him the Title of *Pius*, but likewise gave the Name of *Augusta*, to his Wife *Faustina*, and decreed Statues in Honour of several of his Ancestors and dead Relations, and also the Celebration of the *Circensian* Games on his Birth-Day. In the Beginning of his Reign he soon display'd his Goodness and Bounty; and made it his Business to seek for Men able to govern the Common-wealth, always conferring great Honours upon good and deserving Men. He impartially consider'd the Wisdom of his Predecessor, and therefore he made very few Removals in those Offices and Charges that had been establish'd by him; and ever accounted

counted it most advantageous to the Publick, for good and upright Governors to continue long in their Charges and Provinces. He moderated many Imposts and Tributes, and commanded that all shou'd be Collected without any Severity or Oppression. He was never satisfy'd with the Gain that proceeded from an oppress'd Province; and was very ready to hear the Complaints that were sometimes made against his Collectors and other Ministers. He immediately shew'd his Liberality and Bounty to an extraordinary Degree, and soon gave away most of his former Estate and Goods in Favours and Acts of Charity; so that when his Empress *Faustina* repin'd at his Generosity, he reprehended her as Ignorant, and told her, *That as soon as he was possess'd of the Empire, he quitted all private Interests, and had nothing of his own, but all belong'd to the Publick.* In Matters of Equity and just Government, he was no less vigilant and Industrious than his Predecessor *Adrian*. But he was contrary to his Opinion as to Travels, and resolv'd never to depart from Rome during his Reign, only for Hunting and ordinary Recreations; saying, *That the Court and Company which travell'd with the Emperor were prejudicial and burdensome to the Provinces and Cities through which they pass'd: And that in visiting some Places he was too distant from others; and therefore the most proper place for the Emperor to remain at was Rome, the great Metropolis of the Empire, seated in the Heart of it, and most convenient to receive Embassies and Messages from all Parts of the World.* So by strictly observing this Rule he had the good Fortune to suppress all the Wars and Insurrections in his Reign by his Governors and Commanders.

Those few Troubles and Insurrections that we read of in this Reign were in *Britain*, in *Dacia*, and in *Germany*; and all were made towards the Beginning of this Emperor's Reign. The first was in *Britain* by the more barbarous and unciviliz'd Part of that Nation, but they were soon quell'd by the Care and Industry of the Emperor's Lieutenant *Lollius Urbicus*, who after that improv'd *Adrian's* Wall with larger Fortifications, or rather added another Wall to the former; for which Services he obtain'd the Surname of *Britannicus*. Those in *Dacia* and *Germany* happen'd shortly after, but were successfully suppress'd by the Commanders in those Parts; in which Wars the Emperor's Skill and Management gain'd him such Reputation in all Parts, that for many Years after he rul'd the World by his own Authority, without any considerable War or Bloodshed: So that *Aur. Victor* tells us, That all Kings, Nations, and People stood in Awe of him, and at the same time so lov'd and esteem'd him, That they accounted him rather their Father and Patron, than their Lord and Emperor, and all unanimously chose him for their Judge and Arbitrator of all Controversies, looking upon him as tho' he had come down from Heaven. He was so much esteem'd among Foreigners, That the Inhabitants of *Hyrcania*, a Province of *Asia*, near the *Caspian* Sea, and the *Bactrians*, a very remote and distant People more Eastward, together with the *Indians*, all sent their Ambassadors, voluntarily offering him their Alliance and Obedience. And from other Countries, which were exceedingly remote, there came several Kings to pay him Homage; and particularly *Stangorus* from the *Indies*, King *Pharasmanes*, and others. And in other

other Countries he settled Kings at his Pleasure, the Inhabitants consenting, tho' they were no ways subject to the Empire; and the King of *Parthia* resolving to raise a War against *Armenia*, and having with a mighty Force enter'd that Country, one Letter from this Emperor caus'd him to retire and discharge his Army.

Antoninus reigning in all Prosperity, in the third Year of his Government his Empress *Fausina* dy'd; not long before which he had marry'd his Daughter of the same Name to one of his design'd Successors *Marcus Aurelius*, a Person of rare Accomplishments, to whom the Emperor at the same time gave the Title of *Cæsar*, and rais'd him to the Honour of the Consul-ship, and to several other Dignities. About the same time the *Christians* began to be much oppress'd, and severely treated in many Parts of the Empire, by virtue of the particular Edicts of former Emperors, and the general standing Laws of the *Roman* Empire, which look'd upon them as a wicked and abominable Generation. To wipe away these Aspersions, and to mitigate the Severities against them, that eminent Champion of the *Christians*, *Iustin Martyr*, publish'd his first Apology, presenting it to the Emperor, to his adopted Sons, to the Senate, and by them to the whole People of *Rome*, wherein, with great strength of Reason, he *Defends the Christians from the common Objections of their Enemies*, proves the *Divine Authority of the Christian Faith*, and shews how unjust and unreasonable it was to proceed against them without due Conviction and Form of Law, acquaints them with the innocent Rites and Usages of the Christian Assemblies; and lastly, puts the Emperor in Mind of the Methods of his Predecessor *Adrian* in this Matter;

The Christians
persecuted.
A. D. 140.

who had commanded that Christians shou'd not be needlessly and unjustly troubled, but their Causes shou'd be travers'd and determin'd in open Judicatures; annexing to his Apology a Copy of the Rescript which *Adrian* had sent to *Minucius Fundanus* to that Purpose. The Emperor being of a mild and merciful Disposition was so far mov'd by this Apology, and by the Informations he had receiv'd from the other Parts of the Empire, as to publish a Letter in the behalf of the distressed Christians, in which he, among other Things, remarkably intimates, *The great Conquests the Christians gain'd over their Opposers by their laying down their Lives for the Truth of their Cause*; and concludes his Letter in these words: *If after all, any shall still proceed to create them Trouble, meerly because they are Christians, let him who is Indicted be discharg'd, tho' he appears to be a Christian, and let the Informer himself undergo the Punishment.* By which laudable Indulgence of the Emperor's, the Christians generally remain'd in great Peace and Security throughout the rest of this Reign.

Antoninus now became more universally lov'd by his Subjects, and as his Goodness and Equity became daily more conspicuous, so his Person became more dear to the Senate, which continually added new Honours and Titles to him, particularly styling him, *Father of his Country*, a Title which he much refus'd; but at length accepted of it with great Courtesy and Humility. They likewise offer'd to give the Names of *Antoninus* and *Faustina* to the Months *September* and *October*, in Honour of Him and his Empress, but he utterly refus'd that Offer. He always entertain'd the Senators and Noble-men with all imaginable Honour and Courtesie, and never acted any

any Matter of Importance without their Advice and Approbation; and he often wish'd, *to be such an Emperor to the Senate, as he, if he was a depriv'd Person, would desire of another Prince.* He generally sought to moderate the State and Majesty of an Emperor, and shew'd himself very affable, easie, and pleasant to all Men. And he took a special Care that none of his Courtiers shou'd make any Profit of his Favours to another, nor take Bribes or Gratuities of such as were suiters to him; for which Reason he generally gave Audience and Answer to all Men himself in Person; and in this Matter he knew the Quality and Difference between Men to a great Perfection, using somerimes the Advice of others when he found it necessary. For the solving all Difficulties, besides the advantage of his ordinary Counsel, and of his own Skill and Knowledge in the Laws, he had always some eminent Lawyers near him, particularly *Marcellus, Fabolenus,* and others. By which, and other wise Methods, the Provinces and Cities in his Reign flourish'd and became richer than formerly; many of which Cities he reliev'd with his own Revenues towards their Encrease and Buildings, whether they were for Necessity and Convenience, or for Beauty and Ornament. And when any Misfortune or Calamity befell a City, he carefully repair'd and re-edify'd it with Money out of the Exchequer; particularly when a great Fire happen'd in *Rome*, another in *Narbone* in *Gaul*, a third in *Antioch* in *Asia*, and a fourth in *Carthage*, which consum'd a great part of these Cities. In the time of a great Famine in *Rome*, he bountifully provided for the Peoples Wants, and maintain'd vast numbers with Bread and Wine, most

of the time of its continuance, causing Provisions to be brought from all Parts, and paying for all at his own proper Charges. When the River *Tiber* had, by an Inundation greatly impair'd many private and publick Buildings in *Rome*, he was at a vast Expence in assisting the Citizens to restore the City to its former Lustre. Moreover, this was the Emperor who carry'd on those stupendious Works which appear to this Day, for improving the Havens of *Tarracina* and *Cajeta*.

Among the other Vertues of this Emperor, which made his Reign happy and delightful, his Mercy and Clemency seem'd most signal; by which he mitigated the Rigour of several Laws, punishing Offenders with Pity and Commiseration, and often pardoning them, when he perceiv'd any prospect of their Repentance and Amendment. His mild and peaceful Temper was so remarkable, that to such who frequently discours'd with him of the Valour of *Julius Caesar*, and other Hero's, his common Answer was with that of *Scipio*, *That he more desir'd the Preservation of the Life of one Friend or Subject, than the Death of a Thousand Enemies.* In his Acts of Clemency he had a great Respect to the general and intire Love of all his Subjects; insomuch that when the Senate earnestly perswaded him to punish some with Death who had conspir'd against him, he made Answer, *That it was not necessary too strictly to search out all Accomplices; for if they were found to be numerous, he well understood how much Hatred he shou'd contract by such an Action.* Yet notwithstanding his great Mildness and Lenity, he was always strict and severe towards idle, lazy, and unactive Persons, and turn'd all such out of their Places

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Chap. II. Antoninus Pius XVI.

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Places who were useleſs and unſerviceable to the Publick, ſaying, *Nothing was more unjuſt and ſcandalous, than to ſuffer the Commonwealth to be devour'd by ſuch People, who will contribute nothing by their Labours towards the enriching of it.* He was always very induſtrious himſelf, executing all Affairs with incredible Diligence, and that without any appearance of Vain-glory or Oſtentation. He was an eminent Rewarder of Induſtry, and more particularly of Learned Men, whom he much honour'd and eſteem'd, giving them noble Preſents and Penſions, and drawing them from all Parts of the World; among the reſt he ſent for *Apollonius*, the famous *Stoick* Philoſopher from *Chalcis*, to be Maſter to his Adopted Son *Marcus Aurelius*. This Philoſopher being come to *Rome*, the Emperor ſent him word, *That his Scholar ſhou'd be deliver'd to him as ſoon as he came;* but the other rudely answer'd, *'Twas the Scholar's Duty to go to his Maſter, and not the Maſter to the Scholar.* Which arrogant answer cou'd not move the Emperor, who ſmilingly reply'd, *That he wondred that Apollonius ſhou'd think it a ſhorter Journey from Chalcis to Rome, than from his Lodgings to the Palace,* and immediately ſent *Marcus Aurelius* to him. Beſides this Philoſopher, and ſome Lawyers before-mention'd, there flouriſh'd ſeveral Learned Men in his Reign, particularly *Appian* of *Alexandria*, an excellent Writer of the *Roman* Hiſtory, who likewiſe flouriſh'd in the two laſt Reigns; *Galen* of *Pergamus*, the celebrated Phyſician; *Maximus Tyrius*, a *Platonick* Philoſopher; *Alian*, Writer of the natural and various Hiſtories; *Juſtin* the Epitomizer of *Trogus Pompeius*; and *Diogenes Laertius*, who writ the Lives of the Philoſophers.

Anto-

Antoninus in the midst of his Weighty Affairs and Matters of Importance, forgot not Recreations and Pastimes, celebrating many Solemn Games and Festivals, according to the Custom of *Rome*; and he seem'd never to have neglected any Thing that might contribute to the real Happiness, or reasonable Diversions of his Subjects. And here it wou'd not be unseasonable for the Reader to rest a while upon the Considerations of the exalted Power and Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire, with the mighty Liberty and Felicity of the *Roman* People, under the good and wise Reigns of *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and the two *Antonine's*; to reflect upon the amazing Splendor and Magnificence of the Emperor's Court, crowded with the greatest and worthiest Men in the World, together with the incredible Pomp and Lustre of the vast City of *Rome*, beautify'd with the most stately Fabricks and Noblest Ornaments that the World ever saw; and to think upon the mighty Wealth and Affluence of the several Provinces and Cities of the Empire, their profound Peace and Security in general, and the whole World, as it were, justly and happily govern'd by the same Lord and the same Laws. But such a general Prosperity as this was never very stable and durable in the *Roman* Empire, both by reason of so many ill Emperors, whose Heads became dizzy with the vastness of their Dominions and Authority, besides some Corruptions and Natural Infirmities in the particular Form of this Monarchy; and likewise by reason of the *Romans* exceeding Luxury and Degeneracy from the strict Morals and Vertues of their Ancestors. However *Antoninus* us'd the utmost of his Abilities, to give a solid and lasting Happiness to the Empire, which was like-

likewise the laudable Endeavours and Practices of his three immediate Predecessors and Successor : But in the midst of all his Cares and Concerns, he was seiz'd with a violent Fever at *Lorium*, where finding himself sensibly decaying, he order'd his Friends, the Captains of his Guards, and his principal Officers to repair to him, and before them all he confirm'd his Adoption of *Marcus Aurelius*, not naming *Lucius Verus*; and when the Tribune came for Orders, the Word which he gave him was *Equanimity*, intimating, That he had nothing more to desire, since he had left so worthy a Successor, and immediately commanded the golden Image of *Fortune*, which the Emperors always had in their Chambers, to be remov'd from his Apartment to that of *Marcus Aurelius*, dying shortly after. Thus departed *Antoninus Pius*, the Sixteenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 75th Year of his Age, after a prosperous Reign of 22 Years, and almost eight Months; a Prince of admirable Vertues and unstain'd Reputation, who had justly gain'd that most honourable Title of *Pius*; and in all his Acts he is said never to have done any thing rashly in his Youth, nor negligently in his Age; an Honour as lasting as the Memorials of Fame. His Death hapned in the 914th Year of the City, 185 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 161 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 89 after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

The Death of
Antoninus
Pius.

III. The Death of *Antoninus Pius*, was general- A. D. 161. ly lamented throughout the Empire, but more especially in the City, where with extraordinary Pomp and Solemnity, Divine Honours were given him, Funeral Orations pronounc'd by his

Antoninus
Philosophus
made Emperor;
who joyns with
him, Antoninus
Verus.

his adopted Sons *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*, and a new College of Priests instituted, call'd *Aurelians* from the Name of his Family. At the same Time *Marcus Aurelius*, the eldest and worthiest of the two, was without Contradiction admitted as Successor and Emperor by the Senate, who upon his Beginning to act, without any Scruple took his adopted Brother *Lucius Verus* as his Associate and Equal in the Empire; both He and his Collegue taking upon them the Name of *Antoninus*; tho' to avoid Confusion, we shall call the first *Antoninus*, and the other *Verus*. This was the first Time that *Rome* ever saw its self govern'd by two Sovereigns at once; a surprising sight to a City that formerly had almost all the Blood of her Citizens shed in chusing a Master. *Antoninus* was the Son of *Alius Verus*, and of an ancient and illustrious Family, who by the Fathers Side claim'd its Original from *Numa* the second King of *Rome*; and *Verus* was the Son of *Lucius Commodus*, whom the Emperor *Adrian* had adopted, but Death prevented his Succeeding in the Empire: The former was about 40 Years of Age, and the latter about 33, when they first arriv'd at the Empire. *Antoninus* was a Prince of eminent Vertues and Accomplishments, a good and pious Man, and a renowned *Stoick* Philosopher, for which he is distinguish'd from his Predecessor, by the Name of *Philosophus*: His Excellencies were so transcendent, that *Eutropius* tells us, He was more to be admir'd than commended; and it may be said, That Providence proportion'd the Wisdom of this Emperor to the Calamities design'd for this Reign. But on the other side, *Verus* had none of his good Qualifications, but was passionate and cruel, dissolute and debauch'd in his

Morals;

Chap. II. Antoninus Philosophus } XVII. and } Antoninus Verus.

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Morals; and the greatest of his Vertues was, that he was free from those horrible Vices which make a lawful Prince degenerate into a true Tyrant. But this Disparity of Humours did not so much appear in the Beginning of this Reign, by reason of the Influence and Gravity of *Antoninus*, who enjoy'd almost all the Power and Authority, and the other only the Ease and Luxury of the Government.

These two Emperors began their Reign with great Happiness and Prosperity; and towards the latter End of the first Year, *Antoninus* had a Son born, whom he call'd *Commodus*. The Birth of this Prince, whose Life seems to have been a Dishonour to Nature, was signaliz'd by many deplorable Disasters; particularly the River *Tiber*, by an Inundation overwhelm'd a considerable Part of *Rome*, bore along with it a Multitude of People and Cattle, ruin'd all the Country, and caus'd an extream Famine. This Inundation was seconded by Earthquakes, Burning of Cities, and a general Infection of the Air, which immediately produc'd an infinite Number of Insects, who wasted all that the Floods had spared; all which Calamities the two Emperors remedy'd in a great Measure by their diligent Distribution of such Succours as were needful. At the same Time the whole World resounded with Wars, which almost at once broke out in many Parts. The *Parthians*, under the Conduct of their King *Vologesus*, surpriz'd the *Roman* Legions in *Armenia*, and cut them in Pieces; then entering *Syria*, they drove out *Atilius Cornelianus*, the Governour of that Country.

try. The *Catti* at the same time invaded *Germany* and *Rhætia*, destroying all with Fire and Sword; and likewise the *Britains* begun to make Revolts. *Calpurnius Agricola* was sent against the *Britains*, who joyning fresh Supplies with the ordinary Legions in the Island, suppress'd the Inhabitants; *Ausidius Victorinus* soon repell'd the *Catti*, but the *Parthian War* being of greatest Danger and Importance, one of the Emperors was judg'd most proper for this Enterprize, and *Verus* himself undertook the Expedition, and set forward in a few Days. *Antoninus* with a great Court of Friends and Officers, accompany'd this Prince as far as *Cosma*, leaving many wise and great Men to attend him in this Expedition, with Design either of securing himself of his Conduct, or of laying a Restraint upon his Vices, and by some Remains of Modesty, repell or correct those bad Inclinations which he saw in him. But this Precaution was useless to *Verus*, who weary of all Restraints, shew'd small Respect to those worthy Persons *Antoninus* had left him; but upon his Departure, soon forgot the Urgency of his Journey, and the Defeat of the *Roman* Legions, and consider'd no longer the great Danger of the Revolt of *Syria*, but plung'd himself into the most infamous Lewdnesses and Debaucheries, and to such Excess, that he fell dangerously ill at *Canusium*. Upon News of which, *Antoninus* hastned back to see him, first making Vows in a full Senate; but he soon understood that *Verus* was embark'd for his Expedition.

During the Absence of *Verus*, *Antoninus* apply'd himself to the Regulation of the publick Affairs, and to the correcting such Faults as he found in the Laws and Policy; in all which he shew'd a singular

Chap. II. Antoninus Philosophus }
 and } XVII.
 Antoninus Verus.

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singular Respect to the Senate. He not only remitted many Causes to the Senate, which might have been determin'd in his own Council, but he permitted them to judge Soveraignly, and without Appeal. He was so careful of the Senatorian Dignity, that he receiv'd none in their Body, but after strict Enquiry, and with the Consent of the rest; and was never absent from their Assembly, when his Business wou'd permit him to be there, tho' he had no Report to make. He was fully satisfied that the Strength and Glory of a State depended upon a wise and honest Council; therefore he never undertook any Matter of Importance either in War or Peace, without Consulting the ablest Person in Court, City and Senate, besides his ordinary Council; and being free from that false Ambition of drawing others over to his Opinion, he gladly submitted to theirs, and frequently declar'd, *That it was much more reasonable for him to follow the Advice and Counsel of so many wise Men and Friends, than for so many wise Men to follow his.* And that he might remove that fatal and common Prejudice of esteeming it a mean and Servile thing for a Man to recede from his Opinion, he allow'd this important Truth for one of his Maxims, *That Man is no less free who submits to the Opinion of others, than he who continues Obstinate in his own; such a Change being often the Perfection of Wisdom and Judgment.* As he was ready to harken to the Counsels of others, so he was no less careful and exact in their Execution, and he often said, *That an Emperor shou'd never act carelessly or in haste, and that the smallest*
Over sight

Overfight might create a Censure in greater Matters. So that he examin'd the meanest Affairs with as much Care and Exactness, as the most important; being perswaded of this Truth, That Justice being throughout Entire, there is nothing that regards it but what is Great: So that he often employ'd ten Days and more about the same Business, frequently sat in Council till Night, and never departed from the Senate till the Consul, according to Custom, dismiss'd the Assembly by pronouncing these Words, We detain you no longer.

This good Emperor was no less strict and careful in his Choice of Governours and Magistrates, and was perswaded, That one of the greatest Errors a Prince cou'd commit, was to put the Magistracy into the Hands of unfit Persons; and taking all imaginable Care, lest he should fall into this Misfortune, he with great Easiness and Freedom, refus'd whatever was unjustly requested of him. When he found Persons serviceable to the Publick, he always gave them an Encouragement answerable to their Merits, and plac'd them in Stations most suitable to their Genius and Capacities; and he was wont to say, *That tho' it was not in a Prince's Power to make and form his Subjects as he desir'd, yet it was in his Power to make good use of their Service, by employing them in such Affairs as they understood.* He chose the greatest Part of the Governours of Provinces and great Cities out of the Senators; and he was perswaded, As well as Augustus, *That what-ever a Prince does to increase the Honour and Dignity of his Magistrates, heightens his own Power, and establishes his own Authority, which neither ought nor can be founded upon any Thing but Justice.* What he did to the Senate, did not at all withhold him from extending his Boun-

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ty to the other Orders of Magistrates, and indeed to all private Persons; so that no Person of any Condition whatsoever, appear'd to him unworthy of his Care and Regard. In all Matters he was a religious observer of his Word; and that he might never harken to the Reasons of those false Politicians who maintain, *That a wise and able Prince, is not oblig'd to keep his Word when it interferes with his Interest*, he establish'd this memorable Instruction to Princes: *Beware lest you esteem that Thing as useful and beneficial, which will one Day constrain you to break your Word.* His just and regular Administration, and his many worthy Actions, so much gain'd him the Hearts of the Senate and People, that they offer'd him many peculiar Honours; but he wou'd never accept of those lofty Titles, which had been given to some other Emperors, nor wou'd he permit Temples and Altars to be erected to him, knowing, That it is Vertue alone that makes Princes equal to Gods, and not the Voices and Applauses of the People; and that King who rules with Justice, has all the World for his Temple, and all good Men for his Priests and Ministers.

While *Antoninus* was most worthily employ'd in the publick Administration, *Verus* was pursuing his Expedition in the *East*, but neither with Diligence or Regard to the Interest of the Empire. His Sickness at *Canusium* did not correct his loose Inclinations, but continuing his Debauches upon his March, he totally forgot it at *Daphne*, one of the Suburbs of *Antioch*, the Entrance of which Place was, as it were, prohibited to all honest

Ant. Verus's Expedition in the East.

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Persons,

Persons, since the Sweetness of its Air, and the Beauties of its Groves, Flowers and Fountains, had occasion'd the very Throne of Impurity to be seated there. *Verus* added to the Debauchery of this Place, by such Excesses as were unknown to the Inhabitants, though the most profligate People upon Earth. In the mean time his Lieutenants Successfully carry'd on the War against the *Parthians*: *Statius Priscus* took *Artaxata*; *Cassius*, and *Martius Verus* put *Vologesus* to Flight, took *Seleucia*, burnt and plunder'd the famous Cities *Babylon* and *Ctesiphon*, and demolish'd the Magnificent Palace of the *Parthians*. These Wars continu'd for four Years Space, with great Variety of Successes, much Bloodshed, and many terrible Conflicts, till the Valour of the *Roman* Commanders so far prevail'd, as to become intirely Victorious: But these who had gain'd such noble Victories, and defeated Armies of 400000 Men, in their Return were forc'd to encounter Sickness and Famine, which destroy'd more than half their Numbers. However this was no Impediment to the Glory of *Verus*, who being exalted with his Victories, took upon him the lofty Titles of *Parthicus* and *Armenicus*, as if he had justly acquir'd them in the midst of his Pleasures. During this War, *Antoninus* became sensible of his Collegues Enormities, but feigning himself ignorant, judg'd Marriage to be the most probable Means of retrieving him: therefore without Delay, he sent his own Daughter *Lucilla* into Syria, a Princess of great Beauty and little Modesty, and bore her Company as far as *Brundisium*. *Verus* believing *Antoninus* was coming with his Daughter, and fearing his Disorders should be known to him, went to receive him at *Ephesus*, from

His Marriage
with *Lucilla*,
his Collegue's
Daughter.

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from whence he return'd shortly after the Celebration of his Marriage at *Antioch* with his new Empress, whose Life and Conversation prov'd agreeable to her Husband's, and to the Examples her Mother *Faustina* had Given her.

Verus having set a King over the *Armenians*, entirely subdued the *Parthians*, and settled the Affairs of *Asia*, return'd to *Rome* to partake of the Honour of a Triumph with *Antoninus*, which was solemniz'd with great Pomp and Splendor. His Return was thought fatal to the Empire, for he carry'd the Plague into all the Provinces through which he pass'd, and caus'd the infection to spread through *Italy*, and almost all the Empire. We are told that this dreadful Pestilence began at the taking of *Babylon*, where the Soldiers pillaging the Temple of *Apollo* in a Place under Ground found a little Golden Coffer, which upon their opening of it, cast forth a horrible infectious Air which spread it self, and carry'd Mortality through most Parts of the World. But it more probably proceeded from the Diseases which afflicted *Cassius's* Army, in his Return from the Defeat of the *Parthians*. This Plague was follow'd by many other Miseries, as Earthquakes, Famine, Inundations, and Caterpillars, in *Italy* and other Provinces; all which had such deplorable Effects, that the best Authors assure us, that if the extraordinary Vigilance and Wisdom of *Antoninus* had not prevented it, the *Roman* Empire had been torn asunder, and barbarous Nations had subdu'd the greatest Part of it. For the *Germans*, *Sarmatians*, *Quadi*, *Marcomanni*, and others, taking Advantage

The fourth general Persecution.

A. D. 167.

from these various Calamities, furiously invaded the Empire, and made Irruptions even into *Italy*. The *Germans* were soon repuls'd by *Antoninus*, and his two Lieutenants *Pertinax* and *Pompeianus*; but in the following Year, when the Plague rag'd still more, the united Powers of many barbarous Nations, became an exceeding Terror to the City. In order to put a stop to so many Miseries that threatned the Empire, *Antoninus* us'd all Kinds of Methods Humane and Divine, especially the latter, which he pursu'd with infinite Zeal and Superstition, this by the most Judicious is believ'd to be the Cause of the severe Persecution of the *Christians*, which rag'd about this time, and was the fourth general Persecution of the Catholick Church. This began about the second Year of this Reign, when *Justin Martyr* presented his second Apology, shortly after which, this great Man suffer'd *Martyrdom* in *Rome*; but since it became not hot nor general till this time, the fourth Persecution is justly plac'd here by many, which was in the seventh Year of this Reign, about 60 Years after the Beginning of the third Persecution by *Trajan*, and 49 after the Beginning of that by *Adrian*, which by some is reckon'd the fourth Persecution. The Edicts against the *Christians*, are by some Admirers of *Antoninus*, charg'd wholly upon *Verus*; tho' others who shew'd a venerable Esteem for the extraordinary Vertues and Excellencies of *Antoninus*, have attributed it in a great measure to his Superstitious Zeal to *Paganism*. This Persecution was very severe, and rag'd in many Parts of the Empire, destroying besides *Justin Martyr*, St. *Polycarp*, Bishop of *Smyrna*, and an infinite Number of others, and was not relax'd till about seven Years after this great Irruption.

Antoninus

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Antoninus having us'd all Kinds of Sacrifices, Processions, and Superstitious Rites, march'd against the *Marcomanni* and *Quadi*, taking *Verus* along with him, who had rather have staid behind at *Rome* to continue his Debaucheries, which *Antoninus* endeavour'd to prevent. The two Emperors therefore took the Way of *Aquileia*, where they advanc'd towards the *Marcomanni*, who were encamp'd not far distant, beat them out of their Trenches, and made a great Slaughter of them. *Furius Victorinus*, Captain of the Guards, was slain in the Battel, with a great Number of his best Troops; but this did not hinder the two Emperors from pursuing their Advantage, pressing so forcibly upon the Enemy, that at last they broke through their Army; which occasion'd the greatest Part of their Allies to Slay the Authors of the Revolt, draw off their Forces, and desire a Truce. *Verus* satisfy'd with these Conditions, and Sighing after the Delights and Pleasures of *Rome*, urg'd *Antoninus* to agree to their Proposals and return back: But *Antoninus* urg'd the Perfidiousness of these barbarous People, who still wanted not Strength to disturb the Empire, and immediately order'd his Troops to march. The two Emperors therefore pass'd the *Alps*, pursu'd the Enemy, overcame them in several Contests, defeated them entirely, and return'd into *Italy* without any considerable Loss. Winter was now far advanc'd, and they had made a Resolution of staying at *Aquileia* till it was past, but the Plague oblig'd them to part from thence with some of their Forces; in which Journey *Verus* was seiz'd

The Death of
Ant. Verus.

with an Apoplexy near *Altinum*, and dy'd shortly after at that Place, in the 42 Year of his Age, after he had Reign'd about nine Years with *Antoninus*, tho' some say eleven. It is almost generally agreed, that Poyson was the Cause of his Death, which some attribute to the Empress *Faustina*, but most to his own Wife *Lucilla*, being furiously jealous of him for that Passion he bore to his own Sister *Fabia*; a Death answerable to the Loosness and Debaucheries of his Life. Yet notwithstanding his infamous Life, *Antoninus*, out of a peculiar Kind of Goodness, and Respect to his own Family, caus'd him to be Consecrated, tho' with no great Satisfaction either to Senate or People.

A. D.

170.

*Antoninus
Philosophus
Reigns alone.*

IV. *Antoninus*, who before govern'd both an Empire and an Emperor, had now the former alone left to his Charge; and first taking Care of his Family, he in a short time marry'd his Daughter *Lucilla* to *Claudius Pompeianus*, a Person in Years, and only the Son of a plain Knight, but eminent for his Fidelity, Honesty, Courage and Wisdom; which Qualification, together with his unstain'd Reputation, the Emperor infinitely prefer'd before Birth and Riches. Being freed from this Care, he left *Rome* to finish the War with the *Marcumanni*, who joyning with the *Quadi*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Vandals* and other barbarous Nations, were become fiercer and more formidable than before; so that the Wars against *Hannibal* and the *Cimbri*, scarce ever appear'd more terrible. In the first general Battle near the *Danube*, the *Romans* were so severely treated, that they lost more than 20000 Men, and the *Barbarians* pursu'd them even to the Walls of *Aquileia*; which they

they had taken, had not the Emperor rally'd his Troops with great Skill and Conduct. But this Affront so rouz'd the Fury and Courages of the *Romans*, that in a short time they repuls'd these formidable People, and drove them into *Pannonia*. About which time the *Moors* ravag'd *Spain* with Fire and Sword, and the Shepherds in *Egypt*, who were a Kind of *Banditti*, took up Arms, and made a dangerous Insurrection in those Parts. The former were soon quell'd in *Spain* by the Emperor's Lieutenants; and the latter happily dispers'd by the Courage and Policy of *Cassius*. These Successes were seconded with further Advantages over the *Northern* Nations by the Emperor *Antoninus*, who so weary'd and harrafs'd them by his repeated Attacks and Skirmishes, that he constrain'd them to receive such Articles and Conditions as he thought convenient to impose upon them. After which Victories and Successes, *Antoninus* return'd to *Rome* with great Honour, where he celebrated the *Decennalia* according to Custom, and made such Vows as were usual on those Occasions.

During the Peace, *Antoninus* imploy'd himself in a further Reformation of the Laws and Policy: And first he wisely prohibited, That no Enquiry should be made after the State and Condition of deceas'd Persons after five Years; and lest Crimes shou'd go unpunish'd, and private Persons suffer by Delays in Processes, after the Example of *Augustus*, he increas'd the Number of Court Days, so that there were two hundred and thirty in all. That those who were free-born, might the more easily prove it, he ordain'd, That each *Roman* Citizen shou'd go to the Treasury in the Temple of *Saturn*, where the publick Records were

Prætor Tutelaris.

Lætoris.

kept, to enter what Children they had born; and he establish'd Noraries to keep Registers of all Births in the Provinces. He provided for the Security of Minors and Pupils, by constituting a particular *Prætor* call'd *Tutelar*, because his Office was to appoint Tutors, and because all Business concerning Guardianship came under his Cognizance. He reform'd that Law which order'd those Curators call'd *Lætoris*, to be given to Minors only, in case of Madneſs or Extravagancy (which by the *Romans* were reckon'd a moral Madneſs) and had them given to all Minors without exception. He Moderated the publick Expences, and lessened the Number of Shews and Sports; but maintain'd the Streets and High-ways at the publick Charge; and reform'd all the Abuses of Sales and Usury. He made severe Laws to hinder any Violence that might be done to the Sanctity of Sepulchres; and likewise ordain'd, That the Poor shou'd be bury'd at the Charge of the Publick. The Poor had never Recourse to him invain; and he took such Pleasure in relieving them, that he look'd upon it as one of the greatest Happineſses of his Life, that he never wanted Means to perform it. To put a Restraint upon the Luxury of the City, he prohibited the Use of Litters and Chariots to all inferior Persons; and endeavour'd by all Means to correct the Looseness and Disorders of Women and Young People, without knowing it was his own private Interest: For he was in a great Measure ignorant of the Wantonness and Irregularities of his Empress *Faustina*: But being once advis'd to divorce her for her ill Conduct, we are told That he made Answer, *If we put her away, we are oblig'd in Justice to quit the Empire, which was her Dowry*; But this

this is believ'd by some, as disagreeable to the Temper and Character of *Antoninus*.

In the mean time the *Marcomanni*, who only design'd to lay the Emperor asleep by their Submission, and remove him further from them, to make Advantage of his Absence, all took up Arms with greater Fury than before. They were so much the more formidable, because they had drawn over to their side all the Nations from *Illyricum*, to the furthest Parts of *Gaul*. The Emperor who saw his Army wasted by the Plague; and such Losses they had sustain'd in several Encounters, and the Treasure entirely exhausted by so many Wars and Charges; found himself surrounded with such Difficulties, as he had never experienc'd till that time. He was constrain'd to remedy the first of these Misfortunes by lifting the Gladiators, the *Banditti* of *Dalmatia* and *Dardania*, and the Slaves which had never been practis'd, but in the second *Punick* War; and the latter, by following the Examples of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and selling the Moveables belonging to the Empire. The *Romans* who had no Money to succour their Prince, and secure themselves in a just War, did not want it to purchase the Rich Furniture of the Palace, such as the Emperors Jewels, his Pictures, his Tapistry, his Vessels, and gold and silver Plate, his Chrystals, the Empress's rich Clothes, and the Pearls of which were vast Quantities in *Adrian's* Cabinet; the Sale of all which continu'd two Months, and rais'd so considerable a Fund, that *Antoninus* had sufficient Sum's to defray all the Expences of the War. At his Return he signifi'd it was his Pleasure, that all shou'd restore them at the same Price they had bought them, but us'd no Constraint to those who

who desir'd to keep them. Before his Departure he lost his second Son *Verus Cæsar*, who dy'd of an Impostume, when he was seven Years of Age. He bore the Loss with much Patience, and forbade that the Feasts of *Jupiter*, then a Solemnizing, shou'd be deferr'd by publick Mourning; contenting himself with raising Statues to his Son, and ordering his Image of Gold to be carry'd in State into the *Circus* during the Sports there, and to have his Name inserted into the Order of *Salians*. After which he diligently apply'd himself to the Affairs of the Publick, hastned his Recruits, begg'd the Gods Assistance by Prayers and Sacrifices, and March'd against the Enemy.

This Expedition was longer and more dangerous than any preceeding, being attended with numerous Perils and various Successes. The Emperor pass'd the *Danube* by a Bridge of Boats; at the Head of his Army attack'd the Enemy, gain'd the Advantages in several Encounters, burnt their Barns and Houses, and receiv'd several of the chief of their Allies, who astonish'd with the Suddenness of his Victories, came in to submit themselves. But the most Memorable Battle was towards the latter End of this War, which might have prov'd fatal to the *Roman* Empire, had not some amazing Accidents interpos'd. It was begun by the Enemies Slingers cross a River, which brought *Antoninus* himself into some Danger; but the *Romans* being rouz'd by this Affront, furiously pass'd the River, fell in with the Enemy, and made a great Slaughter. The Enemy timely retir'd with great Policy, and rightly judging they shou'd be pursu'd, left several Companies of Archers cover'd with some Horse, to Skirmish with the *Romans*, as tho' they design'd to stop their Progress.

Progress. Whereupon the *Romans* advanc'd with more Bravery than Conduct, an usual Thing after Success, and briskly attack'd these Archers; who according to Orders, immediately fled, and cunningly drew the whole *Roman* Army among desperate barren Mountains, where they were suddenly block'd up on every side. But they not knowing their Danger, and believing their Courage cou'd overcome all Things, continu'd fighting valiantly notwithstanding the Disadvantage of the Place; which caus'd more of them to be slain than the Enemy, who wou'd not leave that to Chance which they expected from Delay, standing only upon the Defensive. The *Romans* cou'd not comprehend the Reason of this Conduct, till the Excessive Heats between the Mountains, great Weariness, Wounds, and a violent Thirst had entirely disheartned and confounded them; at which time they found, That they cou'd neither fight nor retreat, and that they must either suffer themselves to be cut in Pieces, or become a Prey to their barbarous Enemies. In this deplorable Extremity, where Rage and Despair were their chief Companions, *Antoninus*, more concern'd at his Soldiers Miseries than his own, ran through all their Ranks, and in vain endeavour'd to raise their Hopes by performing Sacrifices, in which they no longer now confided. When the Sun had exhausted all their Strength, they perceiv'd their Enemies ready to attack them; and having no Expectation either from their own Courages, from Fortune or their Gods, nothing was heard but Groans and Lamentations, nor nothing seen but the blackest Marks of the most horrible Desolation. But just as the Army was ready to be destroy'd, we are assur'd by the faithfullest Writers, that

A Miraculous
Victory.

A. D. 174

that the solemn Prayers of the *Christians*, which compos'd the chief of the *Melytene* Legion, prevail'd for their Deliverance, which was effected by a sudden Fall of great Quantities of Rain, with which the fainting Soldiers were reliev'd by holding their Mouths, Helmets and Bucklers up to Heaven. And while the *Barbarians* attack'd them in that Posture, making them swallow their own Blood mingl'd with the Water, the same Clouds that had sent so kind a Shower upon the *Romans*, at the same Time discharg'd a terrible Storm of Hail, accompany'd with Fire and Thunder against the Enemy. So that while the former refresh'd themselves, and quench'd their Thirst, the latter were exceedingly scorcht, and confounded with the Flames from Heaven, which no Water cou'd extinguish. The *Romans* recovering Strength and Courage, and being now rather enrag'd at the Affront they had receiv'd, than remembring the Danger they had escap'd, unanimously cut in Pieces all that resisted them, put the rest to Flight, and took great Numbers of Prisoners.

The Substance of this memorable Story is universally acknowledged by the *Pagan* Writers; but out of Malice to the *Christians*, they either ascribe to it the Power of Magick, or to the Prevalency of the Emperor's own Prayers. However *Antoninus* became so sensible of a miraculous Assistance, that he immediately relax'd the Persecution against the *Christians*, which had been very severe for about seven Years, and wrote to the Senate in favour of their Religion, and acknowledging the Greatness of the Deliverance, order'd those to be punish'd with Death who accus'd the *Christians*. The *Roman* Army upon this hap-

hap-

happy Victory, gave the Title of *Imperator* to *Antoninus*, which was now the seventh Time; and the Empress *Faustina* was likewise Honour'd with the particular Title of *Mater Castrorum*, or *Mother of Armies*. Notwithstanding this great advantage, the *Barbarians* continu'd the War above a Year longer, with many violent Struggles and Conflicts; till finding themselves unable any longer to resist a Commander who had Conquer'd them as much by his merciful Behaviour, as his valiant Acts, sent to offer him Hostages, and to beg a Peace. For a good Space he was busily employ'd in this Negotiation, in answering their Ambassadors, and receiving several Kings that came to pay him Homage. The King of the *Sarmatians* alone restor'd him 100000 Captives that he had taken from the *Roman* Dominions; and deliver'd up 8000 of his Soldiers, the greatest Part of which being sent against the *Britains*. The Emperor impos'd Conditions upon these People more or less severe, as he found their Inclinations to revolt, and all were ready to submit to what he was pleas'd to command; so that the Lands of the *Marcomanni*, the *Quadi* and the *Sarmatians* had been reduc'd into Provinces of the Empire, had not the News of the Rebellion of *Cassius*, who proclaim'd himself Emperor in *Syria*, came just in that Moment. The Villainy of so great a Commander as *Cassius*, much surpriz'd the Emperor, and no less rais'd the Courages of the *Barbarians*, who being always more concern'd for their Liberties, than their Words, oblig'd *Antoninus* to remit a great Part of the Impositions he had laid upon them, and to make new Treaties of Peace far less advantageous to the Empire than the former.

Cassius's Rebellion.

The

The Revolt and Progress of *Cassius* daily fill'd the Ears of the Citizens of *Rome*, which caus'd the Emperor to quicken his Preparations against him. *Cassius* was an eminent Commander in the East, a Person of great Valour and Courage, and of a most regular and strict Discipline; and finding his Soldiers inclinable to support his Pretensions, he resolv'd to pass for a Descendent of the ancient *Cassius*, who conspir'd against *Julius Caesar*; and like him first pretended to re-establish the Common-wealth, saying, *Let the Gods but favour the right Side, and the Cassii shall still restore the Common-wealth to all its Authority.* Afterwards, partly by a feign'd Pretence of the Emperor's Death, and partly by his subtle Insinuations, he gather'd so much Strength, as in a short Time he brought under his Subjection all the Countries from *Syria* to Mount *Taurus*. These Advantages and Successes appear'd very dangerous to the Emperor, who hastning his March towards him, told his Soldiers, among many other Things, *That he cou'd freely yield up his Empire to Cassius, if it shou'd be judg'd a Thing necessary for the Publick Good; for it was for that alone that he sustain'd so many daily Toils and incessant Labours.* In the mean time *Cassius*, who well knew that hainous Crimes must have a speedy Execution, endeavour'd to draw *Greece* over to his Side; but here he met with a deserved Repulse, which first turn'd the Scale of all his good Fortune. The Emperor being so universally lov'd, after this he cou'd not bring over any considerable City, or gain any to his Party, but such as were already ruin'd by their Debts and Vices. This bad Success brought him into Discredit with his own Soldiers, and at last having rather been Emperor in Imagination than Reality, he was slain

slain Three Months and six Days after his Revolt. *His Death.*
His Head was sent to the Emperor, then at *Formia*, who commanded it to be honourably bury'd, and sorrowfully declar'd, *That they had depriv'd him of his greatest Pleasure, which was to have given Cassius his Life, and to have Conquer'd his Ingratitude by his Generosity.* This Clemency was admir'd by some, and condemn'd by others; and one took the Liberty of blaming him openly, telling him, *That Cassius wou'd not have been so generous had he been Conqueror.* The Emperor immediately reply'd, *We never serv'd the Gods so ill, or reign'd so irregularly, as to fear Cassius cou'd ever be Conqueror.* After which he recounted those Emperors who had been depos'd or slain by their Subjects, and shew'd, *That their Misfortunes proceeded wholly from their own Cruelties and ill Conduct; Nero, and Caligula, and Domitian, were the sole Authors of their own Miseries; Otho and Vitellius had not the Courage to Reign, and Galba was ruin'd by his Avarice.* And it is hard to find a good Prince, that met with such Fortune, as appears from the Examples of Augustus, Trajan, Adrian, and others, who always reign'd in the Hearts of their Subjects, and continually triumph'd over their Domestick Enemies.

Antoninus having caus'd the Head of *Cassius* to be bury'd, and testify'd his Grief for his Death, continu'd his Journey to compleat the Suppression of this Revolt, and to cause the People and Army in the *East* to return to their Duty. He began with *Egypt*, and pardon'd all the Cities that had joyn'd with *Cassius*, and left one of his Daughters at *Alexandria*, as a Pledge of his Friendship. Coming to *Pelusium* he there corrected many Excesses and Debaucheries; and where-ever he pass'd, he enter'd the Temples, the Schools, and
all

all publick Places, and Instructed the People, conversing familiarly with them, and explaining to them the greatest Difficulties in Philosophy, leaving the Marks of his Wisdom in all Places. Arriving at *Syria* he was met at *Antioch* with many Kings and Potentates of the *East*; and the first thing he did was the burning of all the Letters found in *Cassius's* Closet, lest he shou'd be constrain'd against his Inclinations to hate any Person. The Children and Relations of *Cassius* were treated with great Clemency and Kindness; *Antoninus* preserv'd to them all their Rights, and had always such Regard to them, that in a great Tryal which they had before the Senate, he strictly forbade the adverse Party any ways to reproach them with the Misfortunes of their Family. The better to prevent such Revolts for the future, he Ordain'd, That no Person shou'd ever after Command in the Province where he was born. In this great Journey the Empress *Faustina* was unexpectedly seiz'd with a violent Distemper, and dy'd at the Foot of Mount *Taurus*; a Woman whose loose and wanton Life was an exceeding Scandal to her high Place and Dignity, and has been justly branded by the *Roman* Historians. Yet *Antoninus*, either from his Ignorance of her Crimes, or his Passion to her Person, willingly admitted of those great and unreasonable Honours which the Senate, out of Complaisance and Flattery, decreed to her Memory. And after the Example of his Father *Antoninus*, he Founded a Society of young Maids, whom he bred at his own Expence, and call'd them *Faustinians*; and likewise built a Temple to his Wife in the Town where she dy'd. Which Temple had afterwards a remarkable Chance which became the Divinity that

*The Death of
Faustina.*

A. D. 176.

that presided there; it being Consecrated to *Helios*, who was the true God of Impurity.

After a full Re-establishment of Peace in the East, *Antoninus* began his Journey towards *Rome*; and arriving at *Smyrna* he made some considerable stay, and there conferr'd many Favours. From thence he went to *Athens* in *Greece*, and being a Zealot in his Religion, was there initiated in the grand Mysteries of *Ceres* call'd the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, which was the most Sacred and Solemn of all the *Pagan* Devotions. Here he did many Honours to the Inhabitants, and establish'd in their City Professors of all sorts of Sciences, with munificent Pensions; making them noble Presents, and granting them large Privileges and Immunities. Here he took Sea, and Landing at *Brundisium* in *Italy*, he quitted his Soldier's Habit, and caus'd all his Soldiers to do the like, who, during his Reign, never appear'd in *Italy* but in their Gowns. He was receiv'd at *Rome* with all imaginable Testimonies of Joy: And because he had been Absent almost eight Years, he distributed to each Citizen eight Pieces of Gold, remitted all their Debts due to the Treasury for sixty Years past, and burnt all their Bills in the midst of the *Forum*. At the same time he gave his Son *Commodus* the Habit of a Man, made him *Princeps Juventutis*, nominated him for his Successor, made him Consul for the ensuing Year, triumph'd with him, and to Honour his Consulship, follow'd his Chariot on Foot, when he went to the *Circus*. He afterwards retir'd for some space to *Lavinium* into the Arms of Philosophy, his great Delight, which he call'd *His Mother*, opposing it to the Court, which he call'd *His Step-Mother*. And for that reason he frequent-

ly made use of this Expression of *Plato's*, *That People was happy whose Philosophers were Kings, or whose Kings were Philosophers.* He was a great Master in Philosophy, and wrote several excellent Pieces himself, some of which remain to this Day. His chief Masters were *Apollonius of Chalcis*, formerly mention'd; *Sextus Chæronensis*, Grandson to the Famous *Plutarch*, and *Fronto*, an excellent Orator in that declining Age of Learning; of all which, and of other Learned Men, he was a great Incourager. Besides these, in his Reign, there flourish'd some other noted Writers, particularly *Apuleius*, an *African*, who sufficiently discovers his Country by the harshness of his Style; *Philostratus*, a Sophister, who writ that bold Legend of *Apollonius's* Life; *Hermogenes*, the *Rhetorician*; and *Herodes Atticus* and *Athenæus*, whose Learned Writings are so highly valu'd by the Criticks.

While *Rome* enjoy'd the Presence of her Emperor, and the Delights of that Peace which her Labours had procur'd her, *Smyrna* was destroy'd by Fire, and an Earthquake, which bury'd the greatest Part of the Inhabitants under the Ruines of the Houses. Upon which *Aristides*, a noted Orator in that City, wrote so moving a Letter to the Emperor, as the sight of it drew Tears from him; and immediately he issu'd forth his Orders, establish'd such Funds as were necessary, and committed it to a Senator's Care to see it rebuilt according to its former Magnificence. What the Emperor did for *Smyrna* he had already done in *Italy*, and likewise for several other Cities which had felt the same Misfortune, as *Carthage*, *Ephesus*, and *Nicodemia*. His Expences upon these Occasions, the Presents he bestow'd on the People,

ple, and the many Taxes he remitted in his most pressing Necessities, are sufficient to take away that pretended Accusation of his Avarice. He was indeed a provident Man in his ordinary Expences, after the Example of his Father *Antoninus*, and manag'd his Revenues with great Care and Wisdom; but when the Glory of the State, or the Benefit of the People were concern'd, his Largeesses went even to Prodigality, being perswaded, that those were the only Occasions on which a Prince might be profuse, and that Covetousness then is a dangerous Mischief. He usually said, *That when Subjects see a Prince Liberal in Publick, and a careful Manager in Private, they pay their Duties with more Satisfaction, because they are then convinc'd, that his Riches are the Source of their Plenty and Happiness.* It is certain, that Rome had scarce ever an Emperor so assisting in the Times of Necessity as *Antoninus*, and he was the first that built a Temple to the Goddess that presides over Benefits, which perhaps was the only Vertue which the *Romans* did not then adore. But the Introducing of this new Worship pertain'd only to him who so perfectly knew all the Ceremonies and Customs of it, and practis'd them continually.

The Emperor now declining in Years, was in hopes of resting from all his Toils and Labours, when News was brought him of the *Scythians* and Northern Nations taking up Arms again, and invading the Empire with great Success. This oblig'd *Antoninus* to make speedy Preparations to oppose them in Person, as he always did; and going to the Senate, this was the first time he desir'd of them to have Money out of the Publick Treasury. Tho' this Money was in his own

Power, if he wou'd have us'd his Authority, yet he openly declar'd to the Senate and People, *That Emperors had no private Propriety to any thing, not so much as to the Palace in which they dwelt.* After this he marry'd his Son *Commodus* to *Crispina*, the Daughter of *Bentius Valens*, a Man of Consular Dignity; and then went to the Temple of *Bel-lona*, and perform'd the ancient Ceremony of the Javelin. The *Romans*, whose Love to this Emperor daily encreas'd, finding him ready to expose himself in a dangerous War, assembled themselves before his Palace, beseeching him, *Not to leave them, till he had given them some Precepts for their Conduct, that if the Gods shou'd take him to themselves, they might by his Assistance continue in the same Paths of Vertue, into which he had led them by his Example.* The Emperor mov'd to see their good Dispositions, spent three whole Days in explaining to them the greatest Difficulties in Morality, and in giving them short Maxims by which they might regulate their Actions. Shortly after he march'd his Army towards the Enemy, with his Son *Commodus*, and gain'd great Advantages; but the Particulars of these last Campaigns, are in a great measure lost. We can only say, That this War had not fewer Difficulties than the former; That *Antoninus* fought several bloody Battels, where the Victories were always owing to his Prudence and his Example of Bravery; That he was always at the Head of his Men, in Places most expos'd to Danger; That he built several Forts, which he strongly Garrison'd, and kept their Country in Awe; and that going to open the third Campaign, in which he expected to compleat the War, he was seiz'd at *Vienna* with a Fever, which put a Period to all his Attempts.

In

In this last Sickness this wise Emperor made it appear, That those Truths of which he always made Profession, were so deeply engraven on his Heart, that nothing cou'd efface them. But tho' his Submission to the Orders of Providence made him easie and willing to meet Death; yet the tender Love and Care he had for his People, fill'd his Mind with Fear and Bitterness. He saw his Conquests in the North unsettled, his Enemies still with their Swords in their Hands, and the People inclinable to Revolt; but above all, the Youth and Unsteadiness of his Son and Successor, which laid him open to the infinite Temptations, and fatal Charms of boundless Authority, prov'd a severe Rack to his Thoughts. Struggling with these Difficulties, and fluctuating between Hope and Fear, as his Death approach'd, he commanded that his principal Friends and Officers shou'd be brought to him; and upon their gathering about his Bed, he took his Son *Commodus* by the Hand, then faintly rising up, spoke to the Company to this effect. *You see before your Eyes my Son and Successor, who having scarce enter'd the World, as in a tempestuous Ocean, wants the Directions of wise Governor's to secure him from the violence of Youthful Passions, which, like furious Storms may drive him into the most fatal Calamities. Therefore instead of one Father, whom he must shortly lose, let him find many in you, to support his Youth, and to add such Instructions as are most beneficial to Him and the Publick. But more particularly make him sensible, 'That not all the Riches and Honours in the Universe, are sufficient to satisfy the 'Luxury and Ambition of Tyrants; nor are the strongest Guards and Armies able to defend them from the 'Hatred and Insults of their Subjects. Let him be assur'd, 'That no cruel and tyrannical Princes ever enjoy*

‘long and peaceable Reigns, but only such who by their
 ‘Mildness and Clemency gain the Hearts of their People.
 Tell him continually, ‘That it is not they who serve out
 ‘of Constraint, but such as obey voluntarily, who con-
 ‘tinue faithful in all Tryals, and are free from either
 ‘Flattery or Treachery; and let him know, ‘That
 ‘These are the only Persons who never fall into Diso-
 ‘bedience, at least till they are forc’d to it by severe usage.
 At the same time do not fail to set before him, ‘How
 ‘exceeding Difficult, and yet how highly Necessa-
 ‘ry it is in the most Absolute Prince to moderate and
 ‘to set Bounds to his Desires. If you instruct him in
 these Truths, and incessantly cause him to recollect what
 he has heard; besides the Satisfaction of forming a good
 Prince for your selves and the whole Empire, you will
 have the comfort of paying to my Memory the noblest
 of all your Services, since by that means you will
 render it Immortal. As he was speaking these
 last Words, he was seiz’d with a Weakness,
 which took away the use of his Voice, and
 brought him to his End the next Day.

*The Death of
 Antoninus
 Philosophus.*

Thus dy’d *Antoninus Philosophus* or *Marcus Aure-
 lius*, the Seventeenth Emperor of Rome, in the
 59th Year of his Age, after a Laborious and
 Triumphant Reign of 19 Years, Nine with his
 Brother, and Ten by himself; a Prince of a
 most solid Understanding and profound Wis-
 dom, of most strict Vertues and rigid Morals;
 yet not free from such a Superstition as caus’d
 great Injustice to *Christianity*, which is above the
 reach of the wisest *Pagan* Philosopher. But his
 Name will ever be plac’d in the Records of Fame,
 among the best of the *Heathen* Princes, for his
 numerous Vertues and worthy Acts he did for the
 good of his Country and Subjects; most of which
 may serve for noble Patterns to *Christian* Princes.
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Chap. II. Antoninus Philosophus XVII. 359

His Death was infinitely regretted according to his Merits ; and there was a general Affliction throughout the Army and all the Provinces ; and it seem'd as tho' the Glory and Prosperity of the Empire all dy'd with *Antoninus*. The Senate and People adored him before the Solemnization of his Funeral ; and as if it had been an inconsiderable Thing to erect him a Golden Statue in the *Julian* Chamber, and to decree him all divine Honours, they declar'd such Persons to be Sacrilegious who had not in their Houses some Picture or Statue of *Antoninus*. His Death happen'd in the 932 Year of the City, 204 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 180 after our Saviour's Nativity, 109 after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and 84 after the last of the Twelve *Cæsars*.

C H A P. III.

From the Death of Antoninus Philosophus, to the Death of Pertinax, the Nineteenth Emperor; when the Empire became expos'd to Sale by the Soldiers.

Containing the Space of above 13 Years.

A. D. 180.

I. **R**OME for the space of Eighty four Years had the great Happiness of enjoying Five good Emperors successively, who made it their main Concern to support its Grandure, to encrease its Riches, and to establish its future Felicity; but Providence now thought fit to alter this long course of Prosperity, and permit that exalted City, which had so often triumph'd over the rest of the World, to be again insulted by its own Princes; which, together with some other Accidents, produc'd such Corruptions and Distractions as soon caus'd the Declination, and afterwards the Ruine of the *Roman* Empire. Some of these Mischiefs appear'd not long after the Death of *Antoninus Philosophus*, for whose sake his Son *Commodus* was without Contradiction receiv'd and acknowledg'd as Emperor, first by the Army, then by the Senate and People, and shortly after by all the Provinces. *Commodus* was more noble by Descent than any of the former Emperors, being the first Emperor that was born in his Father's Reign, and the second that succeeded his own Father in the Government; tho' some

*Commodus
was Emperor.*

Some Authors believe him to have been a spurious Issue, and begotten by a Gladiator, being confirm'd in this Opinion by the wanton Practices of his Mother *Faustina*. He was about 19 Years of Age when he enter'd upon the Empire; being a Prince of great Comeliness and Perfections of Body, and for his Father's sake intirely belov'd, tho' he had already given some remarkable Instances of his Vices and Cruelty.

Some few Days after his Father's Death *Commodus* came to the Camp where the Army lay, accompany'd with the principal of the *Roman* Nobility; and made a plausible and popular Speech to the Soldiers, giving them great Hopes of his just and regular Government, and likewise bestowing such Donatives as was usual for new created Emperors. He continu'd for some space, according to the Promises he had made, and was willingly govern'd by the wise Directions of his Father's Friends; but being obnoxious to all kinds of Flatterers, by reason of his Youth, he soon agreed to their designing Counsels, and resolv'd to leave the Wars and return to the Pleasures of *Rome*; notwithstanding all the just Arguments and Perswasions of his Brother-in-Law *Pompeianus*, and other worthy Men, who unanimously advis'd him to see an end of this War himself. With this Resolution the young Emperor wrote to *Rome* shortly after, advertising the Senate of his Coming; and for a present Ease and Security, he made a very dishonourable Peace with the Enemy, which his Father had almost reduc'd to an entire Obedience, purchasing it with Money, as *Herodian* assures us, tho' *Eutropius* intimates some advantages first gain'd. Then leaving a considerable Force on the Frontiers,

tiers, he set forward towards *Rome*; and in all the Cities through which he pass'd, he was receiv'd with incredible Joy and Solemnity, upon the Account of his Father's Worth, and the Hopes they had conceiv'd of his happy Reign, not knowing his vicious Temper and Inclinations. At his Entrance into *Rome* he was receiv'd with exceeding Transports, Applauses, and Blessings by all Men, who strew'd the Ways where he pass'd with all kinds of Flowers and Ornaments, shewing all possible Demonstrations of Joy, and assuring themselves of a good and worthy Prince from the Son and Grandson of two such Emperors as *Antoninus Philosophus* and *Antoninus Pius*. But he soon gave them an Occasion to change their good Opinions of him, by his abominable Life and Practices; and of his whole Reign Authors have given us an Account of scarce any thing but a black Train of horrid Enormities and Extravagancies, many of which cannot well be related, without receding from the just Method and Quality of an *Historian*.

Commodus for some space hearken'd to his Father's Friends, but being excited by the Levity of his Temper, and corrupted by the Example of his Companions, he in a short time gave himself over to all kinds of mean and extravagant Practices; regarding neither the Honour of his Family, nor the Dignity of his Office. He openly manifested his Lewdness and Incontinence, and spent a considerable Part of his Time in going with his Associates to publick Taverns and Infamous Houses, wasting whole Days and Nights in Feasting, Banquetings, Bathings, and most abominable Luxury. His natural Incontinence was incredibly inflam'd with divers kinds

kinds of Oyntments, which he first us'd to preserve himself against a Pestilence in *Italy*; and these, together with his boundless Inclinations, rais'd such Insatiable Heats, that he kept three Hundred Females, and as many Males for detestable Uses; and, like *Caligula*, commanded Women to be Ravish'd in his sight, and committed Incest, as he did, with all his Sisters; exceeding him in polluting the Temples with Whoredoms and Blood: Lewdnesses which ought to be cautiously recited, yet not wholly omitted. His most innocent Recreation and Diversion, was his Shooting and Hurling of Darts; in which and the like Exercises he was expert almost beyond all Example and Belief; and of these Qualities all Writers have taken notice, as well as those of *Domitian*. At a particular Festival, when great Numbers of wild Beasts were appointed to be Baited and Encounter'd, he commanded a Gallery to be made round the Amphitheatre, where he cou'd move freely and securely; and running with extraordinary Agility and Dexterity, he kill'd most of the Staggs and Harts that were let loose, never missing his Aim, whether it was in the Heart, Head, or any other Part, his Darts alway carrying Death along with them. At another Festival he kill'd a Hundred Lions that were let loose in the Amphitheatre; and frequently did the same to Tigers, Panthers, Ounces, and other fierce Beasts, sometimes by that means delivering the condemn'd Assailants who were ready to be torn in pieces. His admirable Skill in his Bow appear'd from his killing such Numbers of Birds flying in the Air; and more particularly having order'd a Hundred *Moreſco* Ostriches to be

be set free, he cut off all their Heads in the midst of their swiftest Motion, by his Arrows headed in the shape of an Half-Moon. Which Instances may shew, that this Emperor wanted neither Parts nor Abilities to have produc'd the greatest and noblest Actions, and to have made his Subjects as happy as any of his Predecessors. But he was wholly regardless of his Peoples Good; and was so careless and trifling in the most serious Matters, that he wrote nothing more than *Vale* in many of his Letters; at the same time was so serious in slight and shameful Matters, that he caus'd to be Register'd how often he frequent-ed the Fencing-School, with all his Cruelties and Impurities. As to his Exercises, *Lampridius* tells us, That he encounter'd the Gladiators 735 times, whereof 365 were in his Father's Reign. He frequently drove Chariots in Imitation of *Nero*, and like him wou'd have burnt the City, but was deterr'd from it by a particular Friend call'd *Lætus*.

As corrupt Princes generally promote such as are most conformable to their Tempers, so did *Commodus*, who generally chose those for his Governors of Provinces and Cities as were Companions in his Vices and Extravagancies; only he observ'd this Piece of Policy, that he usually retain'd their Children as Pledges of their Allegiance and Fidelity. He was so much addicted to Voluptuousness, that he scarce took any Care about the Government, leaving all to the Disposal of a particular Favourite call'd *Perennius*, whom he afterwards made Captain of the *Pretorian* Cohorts, a Person no less notorious for his Avarice and Cruelty, than eminent for his Valour and Hardiness. During the time of this
Man's

Man's Authority, many unjust Confiscations and Seizures were made, and many horrible Cruelties committed ; which gave an occasion to many considerable Persons to form a Conspiracy against *Commodus*, among which his Sister *Lucilla*, who envying the Greatness of the Empress *Crispina*, became Associate, together with her Husband *Pompeianus*. The manner of this Conspiracy being determin'd, the Charge of the Execution was given to a Person call'd *Quintianus*, tho' some say to *Pompeianus* himself, who was first to strike the Emperor, and the rest of the Conspirators to second and assist him. But his open and audacious manner of Proceeding frustrated the Design ; for having had sufficient Opportunity of dispatching him, he insultingly held up his Dagger towards *Commodus*, saying, *The Senate sends thee this*, which gave some of the Guards time to seize him, before he cou'd strike the fatal Blow. This caus'd the Discovery of all his Accomplices, and *Lucilla*, *Pompeianus*, *Quintianus*, *Quadratus*, and the rest of the Conspirators were Executed, besides many other Persons wholly innocent. For those Words concerning the Senate so indiscreetly utter'd, caus'd *Commodus* to have an exceeding Jealousie and Suspicion of all the Fathers, which Advantage *Perennius* took, and caus'd many Senators, and a great Number of the Nobility to be put to Death, and their Estates seiz'd on, by procuring False-Witnesses to accuse them. By which means *Perennius* became exceeding Rich and Powerful, and well knowing the excessive Luxury and neglect of *Commodus*, he began to endeavour to gain the Empire to himself, and had made some successful Progress in that great Attempt : But his Designs soon

soon became apparent to all Men, and the Multitude of Accusations against him at last, rous'd the Emperor from his Lethargy and Blindness, so that both he and his Sons, whom he had sent into *Illyricum*, to draw the Legions to revolt, receiv'd the just Reward for their Numerous Villainies.

After the Death of *Perennius*, the Emperor undertook to repeal many Things that were done by him; but continu'd not long in that Regulation, pursuing his Pleasures, and suffering himself to be govern'd by another Favourite call'd *Cleander*, a Person who for Cruelties, Rapines and Bribes, exceeded *Perennius*. He nominated twenty five Consuls for one Year, a thing wholly new and surprizing to the City, and chang'd the *Prætorian* Prefects daily and hourly; *Martius Quartus*, holding the Place only five Days, *Niger* but six Hours. These and many other Irregularities, occasion'd new Plots and Conspiracies against the Emperor's Person, particularly one *Maternus*, who practising all Kinds of Robberies, gather'd together great Numbers of *Banditti* and Strangers, and making himself Commander of a considerable Army, wast'd *Gaul* and *Spain*, and being thence repell'd, resolv'd to attempt the Empire it self. But having no Hopes of attaining it by Force, because of the People and the *Prætorian* Cohorts, he betook himself to Stratagems; and taking Advantage from the annual Solemnity, kept in Honour of the Mother of their Gods, wherein it was lawful for Soldiers or any others to imitate Magistrates or their Officers, he sent some of his Soldiers privately arm'd to mix themselves with the Emperor's Guards, and there to assassinate him. But his own Party, in hopes of Advantage, betray'd

tray'd him, and he and many others were executed. Not long after succeeded a dreadful Pestilence, accompany'd with a Famine; in which, and at many other times, *Cleander's* Carriage and Behaviour became so insupportable to the People of *Rome*, that they unanimously took up Arms, and in a Tumult march'd to a House of Pleasure in *Rome*, where the Emperor was, and requir'd to have *Cleander's* Head. And notwithstanding the Emperor's Guards began to make some resistance, yet at length the Torrent became so violent and impetuous, that *Commodus* was constrain'd to deliver him up, tho' extreamly against his Inclinations; and thus *Cleander* and his two Sons were Slain. This Tumult being appeas'd, which *Commodus* durst not punish, he was so incens'd, and with all so suspicious of all Men, that he cast off all Care of State Affairs, giving Ear to every Malicious Informer, to the Destruction of many innocent Persons. Within a while, according to his accustomed Manner, he suffer'd himself to be abus'd by another Favourite, whose Name was *Julian*, and afterwards another call'd *Regilius*, both which he caus'd to be put to Death, and likewise many others that succeeded them. No Persons of Worth were admitted into his Presence, but being ruled by loose and dissolute Persons, he fell into the Practice of all Kinds of Vices and Cruelties.

In Cruelties this Emperor was as exorbitant as any of his Predecessors, as appears from the Death of his Wife *Crispina*, his Father's Cousin-German *Faustina*, and great Numbers of the most illustrious of the *Roman* Nobility. He executed many innocent Persons, instead of others who were guilty, permitting Offenders and Criminals to escape

scape for Money; and if any Person desir'd to be reveng'd of an Enemy, by bargaining with *Commodus* for a certain Sum of Money, he was allow'd to inflict Death or any other Punishment. He commanded a Person to be cast to wild Beasts, only for reading the Life of *Caligula* in *Suetonius*, because he had the same Birth-Day himself; and commanded another to be thrown into a burning Furnace, for accidentally heating his Bath too warm. We are told several Instances of his Cruelties, very odd and monstrous; particularly he cut a fat Man off at the Middle of his Belly, only that he might see his Entrails drop out suddenly; and he jokingly call'd those Persons *Menopodii* and *Luscinii*, whom he had depriv'd of a Foot or an Eye. He caus'd the Priests of *Isis* to beat their Breasts with Pine-Apples, to the Danger of their Bodies; charg'd *Bellona's* Worshippers to cut off their Arm in reality; and stain'd the Service of *Mitbras* with real Homicide. He imitated Chirurgeons in letting Blood, and Barbers in Trimming; under which Pretence he cut off Ears and Noses; Wherefore his Jealousie of all Men was such, that he was oblig'd to be his own Barber. Thus can monstrous Tyrants play with the Torments and Blood of their Fellow Creatures: But in the midst of all his various Cruelties, the *Christians* happily escap'd Persecution, and had a greater breathing time than in any of the latter Reigns; and *Dion* tells us this was by the Mediation of this Emperor's beloved Concubine *Marcia*, who favour'd their Doctrine. We hear of scarce any Martyrs in this Reign, besides *Apollonius* a Noble Man of *Rome* and a Senator, who pleading his own and the *Christians* Cause in open Senate, was executed, and likewise his Accuser.

cufer. This hapned in the eighth Year of this Reign ; in the following Year the Capitol was burnt by Lightning, which likewise destroy'd the adjacent Buildings, and particularly the famous Libraries, which had cost the Ancients so much Care to collect. Not long after another Fire broke out, in which the Temple of *Vesta*, the Palace, and a considerable Part of the City were unhappily burnt to the Ground, which Accident as the People accounted it, an ill Omen, so they laid the Guilt upon him, well knowing his ill Practices, which he seldom strove to conceal.

A. D.
188.

This Emperor now wallowing in all Kinds of Excess and Luxury, and all Kinds of senseless Fooleries, he fell into new and unheard of Extravagancies, so as to reject his Father's Name, and in stead of *Commodus* the Son of *Antoninus*, he commanded himself to be styl'd *Hercules the Son of Jupiter* ; and accordingly he forsook the Roman and Imperial Habit, and in a ridiculous Manner clad himself in a Lion's Skin, and carry'd about a great Club in his Hand. With this strange Habit he appear'd in all Places, to the Laughter of some, and Indignation of others : And that he might throughly imitate *Hercules* in destroying of Giants and Monsters, he gather'd together all the poor sick Men and Cripples of *Rome* ; then ordering somewhat to be ty'd to their Knees like the Feet of Dragons, such as the Poets feign'd the Giants to have had, he gave them Spunges to throw at him instead of Stones, and fell furiously among 'em, and kill'd them with all his Club, as *Dion* assures us. He not only assum'd the Habit of *Hercules*, but afterwards he took upon him that of an *Amazon* Woman, which was most corre-

spondent to that of his Life and Actions; and this he did in Honour of his principal Concubine *Marcia*, whose Picture he publickly wore upon that Habit. So to the former Title of *Hercules*, he added *Amazonian* and *Conqueror*; *Rome* he styl'd *Immortal* and *Fortunate*, and the World, his *Colony*. He commanded many Statues of himself to be erected throughout the City, and one before the Senate House, in form of an Archer ready to shoot; that his very Images might strike Terror into the Beholders. He likewise caus'd the Head of a vast Colossus to be taken off, and that of his own Statue, which bore no Proportion to it, to be plac'd in the Room of it; and as his Pride was without Bounds, so he caus'd the Months *August* and *September*, to be call'd *Commodus* and *Hercules*; and gave Names to the other Months, which were observ'd no longer than he Reign'd. He so much affected Applauses and Magnificent Titles, that he sent a Letter to the Senate with this Stile: *Imperator Caesar Lucius, Alius, Aurelius, Commodus, Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Felix, Sarmaticus, Germanicus, Maximinus, Britannicus, Pacator Orbis, Terrarum, Invictus, Romanus Hercules, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiæ Potestates XVII. Imperator, VIII. Consul, VII. Pater Patriæ, &c.*

During the time of these numerous Irregularities in the City, *Ulpus Marcellus* the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Britain*, was very Successful in composing the Disturbances in those Parts; and after many excellent Services, was ungratefully remov'd and discharged by this Tyrant. Some other Lieutenants were fortunate against the *Moors* and *Dacians*, and in saving *Pannonia* and *Germany* from being torn from the Empire by their

their own Inhabitants; But of these Actions we have no particular Account in the *Roman* Authors; we have only an immethodical Narration of the Enormities and extravagancies of this Emperor, which continually encreas'd and abounded with his Years. He became now so mad, as he resolv'd to forsake his Palace, and live in a Fencing-School; and being at last weary of the Name of *Hercules*, he assum'd the Name of a famous Gladiator deceas'd. His Actions now render'd him odious and insupportable to the State, and likewise ridiculous and contemptible to the People. At length at the Feast of *Janus*, resolving to issue out of the Fencing-School, not as Emperor, but as a common Gladiator to fence naked before the People; it hastned and procured his End. For this strange Resolution being known to his Friends, his belov'd *Marcia*, his General *Lætus*, and his Chamberlain *Electus*, endeavour'd by all Arguments and Entreaties, to divert him from so mean and dishonourable a Design. But being incens'd with them, he commanded them to depart, and retiring into his Bed-chamber at Noon, to repose himself, according to his Custom, where in a Roll or Book, he wrote down the Names of these three Persons, dooming them to Death that Night. After these follow'd the Names of a great number of Senators, the Estates of whom he design'd to distribute among the Gladiators and Soldiers, to purchase Mirth and Jollity from the former, and Defence and Security from the latter. Being thus finish'd, he laid the Writing upon his Bed, not suspecting any durst enter his Chamber; but a little Boy whom he lov'd, while he was Bathing himself, inno-

The Death of
Commodus.

cently took up the Writing to play with; and going forth, was met by *Marcia*, who took it from him, believing it a Matter of Consequence. Viewing of it, and finding the fatal Contents, she immediately discover'd to *Lætus* and *Electus* the greatness of their Danger, who readily resolv'd to purchase their own Security by the Tyrant's Death, and concluded it most proper to dispatch him by Poyson, which was speedily administer'd by the Hands of *Marcia* herself. This immediately cast him into a heavy Slumber, and *Marcia* to conceal the Fact, caus'd the Company to retire, under Pretence of allowing him Rest; but finding him awake soon after, and taken with a violent Vomiting, she and the rest of the Conspirators, greatly fearing he should cast up his Poyson, hastily call'd in a stout young Man call'd *Narcissus*, shewing him the Writing, and his own Name among the rest, making also large Promises of Rewards, if he would immediately dispatch him. *Narcissus* boldly undertook it, and so this wretched Monster vomiting and grievously tormented with Poyson, was Strangled and Slain by his nearest Friends. This was the miserable End of *Commodus* the eighteenth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 31st Year of his Age, after an impious Reign of 12 Years, 9 Months, and 14 Days; a Prince, as *Lampridius* says, *who liv'd only for his Subjects Mischiefs, and his own Shame*; and as he most resembled *Domitian* in his Life and Actions, so likewise in his violent Death, which a bloody Tyrant seldom or never misses. In him the *Ælian* together with the *Aurelian* Family was extinguish'd, as the *Julian* was in *Nero*, and the *Vespasian* in *Domitian*; and all three by Monsters of Mankind.

Mankind. His Death hapned U. C. 945; A. D. 192; and after this the *Roman* Empire through his Means was involv'd in greater Miseries and Afflictions, than ever it was before.

II. The Conspirators perform'd their fatal Bu- *A. D. 192,*
siness with all imaginable Secrecy and Expedition; and immediately convey'd the dead Body confus'dly wrapt up in mean Clothes through the Guards, most of which were either sleeping or drunk. And tho' they aim'd only at their own Safety, not Sovereignty, yet they took Care to provide a Successor before his Death shou'd be reveal'd; therefore the same Night they all speedily repair'd to the House of *Helvius Pertinax*, a Renown'd Person, who by his Merits alone had rais'd himself to the highest Dignities; but had now retir'd himself, every Day expecting to fall a Sacrifice to the Tyrant's Humours. This valiant Man being asleep in his Bed, at Midnight was rous'd with the hasty Entrance of *Lætus* and others with several Soldiers, which confirm'd his former Suspicions, and now assur'd himself of nothing but Death by the Commands of *Commodus*; and resolving to suffer all things with the Patience and Courage of a *Roman*, he laid unmov'd, and without any Shew of Fear, told *Lætus*, *That for many Days he had expected to end his Life in this Manner, marvelling that the Emperor had deferr'd it so long; therefore he bad him, Strike without any further Delays.* *Lætus*, almost as much surpriz'd as *Pertinax*, perswaded him to *Lay aside all Fear and Suspicion, since the Tyrant Commodus was dead, and they came purposely to offer the Empire to Him, as the only Person in the City, that was wor-*
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thy of so high a Dignity. Pertinax, still more Confounded, was in Fear of some further Treachery; but the Matter being declar'd to him at large, and the real Inducements they had to assassinate the Emperor, he accepted of their Offer; and was immediately carry'd by them to the Camp of the *Prætorian Cohorts*: Where the Soldiers being assembled, *Lætus* their Captain made a set Speech to them, *Manifesting the horrible Vices and Enormities of Commodus, who by reason of his Luxury and Excess, was now dead of an Apoplexy; and enumerating the many Vertues and Excellencies of Pertinax, inciting of them to make him Emperor, as the most worthy surviving Person.* The Soldiers, believing the Death of *Commodus* to be natural and accidental, readily comply'd, made *Pertinax* Emperor, call'd him *Augustus*, and took their Oaths to him as the Custom was. But *Pertinax* accepted of all Things with Unwillingness and Concern; for he found he was to succeed a Tyrant, who by his Disorders had so impoverished the State, and render'd the *Prætorian* Soldiers so extreamly licentious, that he could not possibly use necessary Remedies without incurring a publick *Odium*.

These Ceremonies being speedily finish'd, and the Day approaching, the Soldiers brought him into the City, where they found the People tumultuously running about the Streets, crying and calling to one another, with all the imaginable Tokens of Joy and Satisfaction; some hastning to the Temples to return Thanks to their Gods for the great Benefit of removing such a Tyrant as *Commodus*, and others to the Palace to be assur'd of the Truth, and to view his dead Carcass. The Senate likewise was
imme-

immediately assembled, where appear'd greater Transports than among the People, and accompany'd with such an infinite Number of Curses and Maledictions, as are scarce credible. They likewise pronounc'd him a *Parricide*, a *Traitor*, that ought to be *Scourg'd to Death*, an *Hang-Man*, an *Enemy to the Gods*, an *Enemy to his Country*, an *Enemy to all Mankind*, and a *Pest of the World*, worse than *Domitian and Nero*; and also destroy'd his Statues, abolish'd his very Memory, and offer'd all imaginable Indignities to his Fame. In the mean time the Soldiers repair'd with their new Emperor *Pertinax* to the Senate-House, who unwillingly permitted them to bear the Imperial Ensigns before him, till the Senate had agreed, and given their Consent. Upon his first Entrance into the House, the Senators unanimously Saluted Him *Emperor*, and *Cesar Augustus*; and with numerous Acclamations and Blessings, swore and yielded him Obedience: Which he with great Modesty withstood, *urging his Insufficiency and Unworthiness, alledging his declining Years, and nominating several others which he judg'd more proper for so high an Office and Dignity.* But at length being vanquish'd by their Importunities, he yielded, and sitting down on the Imperial Chair, he there made a Solemn Oration to the Senate; which being finish'd, he went forth from the Senate House, accompany'd with the whole Body of the Senate and *Roman Nobility*, and infinite Numbers of others, and went to the Temples, according to the usual Custom, and from thence to the Imperial Palace. He was shortly after acknowledg'd as Emperor in all the several Provinces, where his Merits were well known; and began his Reign to the universal Satisfaction of the whole Empire.

Pertinax
made Emperor.

Pertinax was now in the 68th or 69th Year of his Age, when he arriv'd at the Empire, and before this Advancement had past through many Strange Changes of Fortune. He was of very mean Extraction, being but the Son of an enfranchis'd Slave call'd *Alius*, who only gave him so much Learning as qualify'd him for his poor Mercery-Shop, which soon after improv'd him so far as to become a School-Master in the City. After which he study'd the Law, and by the Assistance of *Avitus*, a Consular Person, he obtain'd Liberty to plead in publick; but being a Man of Courage, and inspir'd with a martial Warmth, in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, he took Arms; in which his Behaviour was such, that in a few Days he was made Captain of a Cohort in *Syria* against the *Parthians*: And increasing in Reputation, he was sent into *Britain*, and after that into *Mæsia*. In the Reign of *Antoninus Philosophus*, he was made a Captain of Horse against the *Germans*, and after that Admiral of a Fleet in the *German Ocean*, from whence he was remov'd to the Wars in *Dacia*; where through sinister Informations, *Antoninus* depriv'd him of his Charge; but through the Intercession of the *Pompeianus*, he afterwards was made a Senator, and likewise Colonel of a Legion to recompence his former Disgrace. After which he perform'd such excellent Services against the barbarous Nations, and against *Cassius* in his Rebellion, that the Emperor openly applauded him, and made him Consul; and likewise gave him the Governments of both the *Mæsia's* and *Dacia*, removing him afterwards to the Governments of *Syria* and *Asia*, the most advantageous Charges in the Empire. In the Reign

Reign of *Commodus*, by the Instigation of a Favourite, he was banish'd by that wicked Prince; but being afterwards recall'd, he was sent into *Britain* to reform the Abuses of the Army, where by the Mutinies of the Legions, he was left for Dead among many others that were Slain; but escaping that Danger, he severely punish'd the Offenders, and establish'd Regularity and good Order. From thence he was remov'd to the Province of *Africk*, where he was likewise in great Danger by the Mutinies and Seditions of the ordinary Legions; for in this Reign all things were in Disorder, and had not the extraordinary Care and Vigilance of *Pertinax* and some few others preserv'd the Provinces, the Empire had been expos'd to the greatest Hazzards. Removing from *Africk*, *Pertinax* declining in Years, betook himself to a retir'd Life, tho' *Commodus* made him *Præfect* of the City; and in this Condition he was unexpectedly made Emperor; being a Prince not branded for any remarkable Vice, but Avarice, which was one Cause of his Ruin.

The first Thing he attempted in the Government of the State, was the Restraining of the Licentiousness of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, and the putting a Stop to the Insolencies and Injuries they committed against the People and Citizens of *Rome*; in which they were encourag'd by the loose Life and Protection of *Commodus*, whom they assisted in all Emergencies. He banish'd Promooters and Informers, who again had crept into the State, and regulated many other Abuses and Disorders, which were tolerated in this time; seeking to reduce all Things to that Form and Manner of Government, which

which was us'd in the Reigns of the two *Antonines*. He expos'd to Sale all the valuable Goods and Furniture that *Commodus* left behind him in the Palace; but all such as that Tyrant had unjustly taken away from others, he commanded to be restor'd to the legal Owners, for which they were to pay some small Consideration in Exchange. He permitted not his Name to be stamp'd on the peculiar Goods of the Emperors, saying, *That their Propriety belonged to the State in general*. He enacted, That all the wast Ground in *Italy*, and other Provinces, tho' of the Emperors Demesne, shou'd be improv'd, and freely given to such as wou'd Manure and Cultivate it; to which Purpose, he granted to Husbandmen ten Years Immunity from all Taxes, and Security from all further Molestation during his Reign. He entertain'd all Men honourably and courteously, who had any Affairs to negotiate with him; with which and many other laudable Actions this good Prince so gain'd the Hearts and Affections of the Senate and Citizens, that they all accounted themselves happy in having so worthy an Emperor: Upon which Account, besides the honourable Titles given to Him in particular, the Senate intituled his Son *Cæsar*, and to his Empress *Licinia* was added the Name of *Augusta*. He accepted of the latter upon the Account of his Wife's Merits; but refus'd the former, lest he shou'd be corrupted, deferring that Honour till he might deserve it; and by reason of his Youth, he wou'd not admit him into the Court, but caus'd him to lead a private Life. He continually frequented the Senate as often as it sat; and in his Palace he

never

never refus'd to give Audience to any Person, and at any Time. His great Error was Covetousness, which was most apparent in his Table; and there, according to the Instances which *Capitolinus* brings, he was penurious to a most sordid Degree; which was almost the only abhorr'd Vice in these licentious and degenerate Times.

In this short Reign *Pertinax* was very successful and prosperous in his Affairs abroad; for as soon as the barbarous Nations and Enemies to the Roman Empire had certain Intelligence that He was made Emperor, they immediately laid down their Arms, well knowing the difference of this and the former Emperor; and many sent Ambassadors to him to treat of Peace and Alliance, tho' several of them came after his Death. So that his Reign, as aforesaid, was to the general Satisfaction of all Men, except the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who had been so abominably corrupted in the last Reign, as they cou'd not suffer any Appearance of Vertue: Therefore they soon began to hate him for his strict Discipline and Regulations, his Restraining of their former Riots, Abuses, and Outrages, and particularly for his short Donatives and Distributions; for which Reasons he was likewise disliked by the Officers and Ministers of the Imperial Palace, who were no less corrupted than the other. The Impudence and Audaciousness of the Soldiers encreas'd to that Degree, that they seiz'd upon a Senator of a noble and ancient House call'd *Maternus*, and endeavour'd to carry him to the Camp and make him Emperor in opposition to

Per-

Pertinax ; but *Maternus* being a Faithful and Loyal Subject, escaping out of their Hands, fled first to the Emperor, and then from the City. This bold Action of the Soldiers drove *Pertinax* into great Straits ; but at present to quiet and pacify them, he made some new Distributions amongst them ; but all was insufficient to remove the unjust Prejudices they had taken against him. *Pertinax* had proceeded so in many kinds of Regulations, that in a short time the State of the Empire seem'd to be chang'd ; but he wanted a sufficient Force to suppress the Insolencies of the Soldiers, who now having a Suspicion, if not a certain Knowledge of the Murder of their beloved Master *Commodus*, became more inveterate against the present Government. And not long after their Disappointment by *Maternus*, by their Incouragement a Senator call'd *Fulco* aspir'd to the Empire, but was soon discover'd to the Senate, who offer'd to Sentence him to Death ; but notwithstanding the Offence was apparent, and the Evidences indisputable, the Emperor pardon'd him, saying, *God forbid, that during my Reign any Senator should be put to Death, tho' deservedly* : But Justice was done upon some of the chief Abettors, which so exasperated the rest of the Soldiers, whose Hatred and Presumption daily encreas'd, that they unanimously resolv'd, not to use any secret Conspiracies and private Contrivances for the future, but in an open hostile manner to attack the Emperor in his Palace. In order to which, a considerable Body of them was drawn out, who, in a tumultuous manner pass'd the Streets of *Rome* with drawn Swords, Halberts, and other Weapons ; and as their Motion

tion was sudden and impetuous, they enter'd the very Palace without any Opposition or Resistance.

The Emperor being advertis'd of this, in great Haste sent *Lætus* to stemm this furious Torrent, who, forgetting that he had made *Pertinax* Emperor, was very negligent in performing his Commands; but being, according to some, a Promoter of the Sedition, speedily retir'd to his own Lodging, just as the Soldiers enter'd the Palace, where, by reason of the Confusion of the Emperor's Servants, and the suddenness of the Storm, no Resistance cou'd be made. It strook so great a Terror in all Persons, that the greatest Part of the Attendants abandon'd the Emperor and fled; and those who remain'd, earnestly prest the Emperor to fly, shewing him, *How easie it was to escape to the Body of the People who wou'd undoubtedly defend him.* But notwithstanding he was satisfy'd of the Reason and Truth of their Perswasions, he wholly refus'd to follow their Counsel, alledging, *That to save his Life by Flight, was unworthy of his Imperial Dignity, and all his past Actions;* and thereupon resolv'd to go forth, and face the Rebels in Person, conceiving, that his Presence alone wou'd Shame and Confound them, and cause them to return. And this Opinion prov'd not wholly groundless; for coming unconcern'dly as it were, and approaching them in the Court, they all made a Stand, and gave him Time to speak to them, which he did with great Courage, without any shew of Alteration; first asking them, *What might be the Occasion of their coming in such a tumultuous and disrespectful*

manner ? Then without any appearance of Fear or Affectation, and with a Gravity and Authority answerable to the Dignity of his Person, he spoke to them after this manner. Soldiers and Companions, if you come to Assassinate me, and put those fatal Purposes in Execution, you will perform an Act neither Valiant or Honourable on your Part, nor Grievous or Unwelcome on mine ; having been sufficiently ripen'd for Death, both by my Age and Troubles, as well as by my Fame and Renown. But as for you, whose Charge it is to guard and defend your Emperor from all Perils and Treasons ; for you to offer Violence to him, as it is most dangerous to your Persons, so it is no less fatal to your Memories, which will become so odious, that no Time can wear off the Stains ; especially since your Prince's Actions have been so just and equitable. If the Death of Commodus offend you, why do you repine at the Laws of Nature ? If you suspect him Murder'd, you all can testify my Innocence ; so if there be any Treachery, it concerns the Actors not me. But I assure you, that by reason of his Death nothing just and necessary shall be taken from you, nor nothing reasonable and practicable shall be deny'd you ; provided you require it without Force and Violence.

Having ended his Speech, many of the Company, being mov'd by his Words and Majesty, began to change their Intentions, and to depart ; but the Fury and Violence of those behind forc'd them forwards, so that they cou'd neither retreat nor defend the Emperor. In the midst of this Confusion, *Thausius*, a *Tungrian*, wounded *Pertinax* on the Breast with a Launce, saying, *The Soldiers send you this ;* perceiving their Design,

sign, he pray'd to *Jupiter Ultor*, cover'd his Head with his Robe, and sunk with the Wounds he receiv'd from several *Electus*, and some other of his Servants, who endeavour'd to defend him, were likewise Slain, after they had caus'd some Bloodshed themselves; only a Son and a Daughter of the Emperor's escaped, who were not lodg'd in the Palace. This was the unfortunate and much lamented Death of *Helvius Pertinax*, the Nineteenth Emperor of Rome, after a short Reign of only three Months and one Day: One who from the Meanest became the Greatest; and from the uncommon Variety of his Successes, was term'd the *Tennis-Ball of Fortune*; and One who did many worthy Acts in his short Reign; but was destroy'd by his Avarice, and his too hasty a Reformation of a corrupted State. But these, and many succeeding Calamities, are by Writers, justly attributed to the ill Conduct of the former Emperor *Commodus*, who had introduc'd such numerous Corruptions, as were sufficient to set the World on Flames, and to produce the worst kinds of Dissentions and Distractions; and in that Tyrant's Reign alone we are assur'd, That the whole State of the *Roman Empire* was chang'd from the Golden to the Iron Age: Which may serve for a Confirmation of that important Truth, "That Princes can cause greater Mischiefs after their Deaths, than they can possibly do while they live. *Pertinax* dy'd in the 946th Year of the City, 217 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 193 after our Saviour's Nativity, 122 after the Destruction of

struction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, and 97 after the last of the Twelve *Cæsars*, which preceeded the most remarkable Change that ever before happen'd in the *Roman Empire*.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

From the Death of Pertinax, to the Death of Alexander, the Twenty Fifth Emperor; when the Empire was first transferr'd without the Consent of the Senate.

Containing the space of about 42 Years.

I. **T**HE strange and sudden Death of *Pertinax*, was a Matter of great Concern and Wonder to all Men; and was so much the more surprizing to find a *Roman* Emperor of greater Power and Authority than any other Prince in the World, who peaceably commanded so many Kingdoms, Provinces, and Armies, to be in the midst of his own Metropolitan City and Palace in a Hostile Manner, destroy'd by a few Soldiers, not exceeding the number of Three Hundred. The Citizens were all in a great Confusion, running arm'd about the Streets with the most imaginable Wrath and Fury, but came too late either to save the Emperor, or to revenge his Death: For the Soldiers, who committed this Villany, retired with great Precipitation, and getting out of the City to the rest of their Companions, they expeditiously fortifi'd the Camp with Ramparts and Trenches, expecting to be attack'd in a short time. But the Citizens wanted either the Courage or Conduct to pursue them; and the Senators and Noblemen were so far from effecting any thing, that some fortifi'd themselves in their Houses, and others hastily rid to their Castles and

A. D.
193.

Estates in the Country; not judging themselves safe in the City. Two Days having past in this manner, the *Prætorian* Soldiers finding no Person dare attack them, became more and more Insolent, and proceeded to an unheard-of piece of Impudence: For some of them standing upon the Ramparts of the Camp, with a loud Voice made Proclamation, *That they wou'd dispose of the Empire to whomsoever wou'd purchase it, and give most for it.* This Sale was immediately publish'd in all Parts of the City; but partly by reason of the Scandal and Odium of this Proclamation, and partly by reason of the few rich Persons left in *Rome* by *Commodus*, there were but two Merchants found to attempt this Purchase, which were *Sulpician* and *Julian*. The former was a Consular Person, *Præfect* of the City, and Son-in-Law to the late Emperor *Pertinax*; and the latter was likewise a Consular Person, a great Lawyer, and the wealthiest Man in the City.

When the Proclamation was first publish'd in the City, *Julian*, with his Wife and Daughter, were then entertaining some Friends at a Dinner, and in the height of their Mirth and Jollity, he was counsell'd by the rest, since he had more ready Money than any other in *Rome*, *Not to lose the Opportunity of so noble a Purchase, and so valuable a Jewel as the Roman Empire was, but to go immediately to the Camp, and bargain with the Soldiers to chuse him Emperor.* *Julian* being ravish'd with the darling Prospects of Rule and Empire, immediately arose from the Table, and hastned to the Camp, where he found *Sulpician* arriv'd before him, solliciting the Soldiers to make him Emperor, promising them a large Sum of Money, with many other Favours and Rewards: And the only Impediment was his being Son-in-Law

Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had slain, therefore they stood in some Fear of him. Their Suspensions were encreas'd by the Insinuations of *Julian*, who with great Earnestness advis'd them, *To beware of chusing One, who when he had opportunity, wou'd undoubtedly revenge the Death of Pertinax; and further promis'd them an immense Sum of Money, which he had in readines, which shou'd be immediately produc'd, and divided amongst them; and that he wou'd restore all things to the same Order and Form that they were in when Commodus was Murder'd.* These infamous Proposals were at last accepted by the Soldiers, and *Julian* with Ladders receiv'd into the Fortifications, where they swore Obedience to him, and acknowledg'd him as Emperor. Then performing the ordinary Ceremonies and Sacrifices, he enter'd the City, accompani'd with the whole Body of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, which consisted of about Ten thousand, all rang'd in such Order, as if they were going to Battel; for they much suspected the People. As *Julian* enter'd the City, the Soldiers with their drawn Swords, and many Acclamations, proclaim'd him Emperor; but the Citizens, though they durst make no Resistance, refus'd to approve of the Election according to Custom, and curst him, and threw Stones at him. Being conducted to the Senate-House, to the Senators then present, he made a remarkable Speech to this Effect, *You want an Emperor, and I am the fittest Person you can chuse.* Which Speech being back'd with so many Soldiers, caus'd the Senate to admit and acknowledge him for Emperor, and likewise to displace *Suspician*, and to make *Julian's* Son-in-Law, *Repentinus*, Prefect of the City. Thus was the greatest and most Glorious Empire on this side Heaven, which had cost the best Blood in the World to estab-

*Julian made
Emperor.*

blish, shamefully expos'd to Publick Sale, and purchas'd by a Sum less than a Million of our Money.

Didius Julian was Grandson to the famous Lawyer of that Name, who compos'd the Perpetual Edict in the Reign of *Adrian*, and had pass'd through many considerable Offices, both Military and Civil; and now declining in Years, in the 57th Year of his Age, he had retir'd himself in *Rome* to enjoy the Benefit of his former Toils, and make the best of his great Riches which he had scrap'd together. In these Circumstances he began his Reign; and as though the Empire had descended to him by Right of Inheritance, and he had gain'd the Hearts of all his Subjects, he gave Himself up to Ease and Inactivity, and shew'd himself extremely negligent and regardless of the troublesome Affairs of the Publick. And notwithstanding he was mild and affable, and did no Injury, or shew'd any Cruelty while he reign'd, yet he soon contracted the hatred of the Soldiers by his Backwardness in performing his several Promises. The Money promis'd prov'd exceeding prejudicial to the Empire; for from this Occasion and Beginning, the Soldiers grew daily more audacious and regardless of their Prince; so that their Covetousness and Contempt of their Emperors encreasing, frequently ended in shedding of their Blood, in hopes of a greater Advantage from the next Successor. But what added to their hatred of the Emperor, was his own particular Avarice and Penuriousness, which *Spartian* tells us was so remarkable, that he often Supp'd only on Pulse and Herbs; and if any had sent him a Pig or Hare, he made it serve for three Days. The People of *Rome* continually hated him, because he was chosen and made Emperor by the very Murderers

Murderers of *Pertinax*, whom all lov'd and admir'd; and they were of Opinion that he was Accessary to his Death, often saying, *That he had stole the Empire*. So that whenever he went out of his Palace, the People openly pour'd out their Imprecations against him, which he patiently endur'd, sometimes with Smiles, beckoning with his Hand for them to come to him, and making shew of great Love and Affection towards them. But these Acts of Courtesy wou'd avail nothing, but rather increas'd their Hatred; so that standing at a set time to behold certain Games and Sports, the People unanimously proclaim'd *Pescenius Niger*, Emperor, who was then Governor of *Syria*, imploring his distant Assistance to procure them Liberty; for all which Insolencies *Julian* shew'd no great concern.

The Peoples hatred of *Julian*, and their exceeding desire of a Change, gave *Niger*, then in *Syria*, a fair Opportunity of promoting his own Interest, which he did not doubt to effect, being a Person of Years and Reputation, and one who had held great Offices and Governments, as well as perform'd many noble and memorable Exploits. He was belov'd by the People for the Fame of his Wisdom and Clemency, and the Report of his imitating *Pertinax* in his Life and Government. Being thus strengthened in his Interests, he easily perswaded his Army in *Syria* to proclaim him Emperor against *Julian*; and taking upon him the Arms and Ensigns of the Empire, he was acknowledg'd by the Kings and Potentates of *Asia*, who sent him Ambassadors as to a lawful Prince. About the same time, and almost the same Pretences, *Septimius Severus*, a valiant Warriour and Commander of the *German* Legions, seeing the Empire thus obnoxious to every Man's

Niger proclaimed Emperor in Syria

Power and Ambition, resolv'd to attempt it against the rest of the Pretenders, especially since of three, two who had already seiz'd on it, *Niger* was negligent and secure, and *Julian* hated and despis'd. Being also encourag'd in this attempt by some Dreams, he for a while conceal'd his Designs, but in the presence of his Army severely inveigh'd against the *Prætorian* Cohorts, for murdering their lawful Prince *Pertinax*, whom he knew was much belov'd by his Soldiers; therefore he extoll'd Him to the utmost, and easily persuaded them to revenge the Death of him who was once their successful General in *Illyrium*. Whereupon the Army immediately proclaim'd him Emperor, which he seem'd unwilling to accept; but at last assuming the Imperial Ensigns, he publish'd, That he wou'd revenge the Death of *Pertinax*, and thereupon took upon himself the Name of *Pertinax*, which much strengthened his Interest, both in his Army and among the People of *Rome*. So that at one and the same time, there were no less than three Emperors in the *Roman* Empire, or rather three Usurpers; the former having only the constrain'd Authority of the Senate, and the other two the Power of their own Armies.

And *Severus*
in *Germany*.

The News of *Niger's* Revolt and Pretensions arriv'd first at *Rome*; but *Julian* shew'd no great Concern for that, satisfying himself with sending to have him Executed: But understanding the successful Progress of so formidable a Rival as *Severus*, he was exceedingly terrify'd; and with many Sollicitations promis'd the Senate to proclaim him a Rebel, and that the Fathers shou'd send certain Ambassadors, to cause the Army to abandon *Severus*, and stand by Him whom the Senate had already confirm'd; sending at the same time

Catullinus

Catullinus to remove *Severus*, and succeed Him in his Office. But *Severus* by his great Policy and Industry had secur'd Himself from all such Attempts; and had sufficiently assur'd himself of the Love of his Friends, and the Fidelity of all the strong Places in his Province; resolving with the utmost Expedition to march with his Forces directly to *Rome*, where he knew how little *Julian* was belov'd. At the same time *Niger* in *Syria*, not knowing or regarding these Progresses of *Severus*, became negligent in his Affairs; and seeing himself attended and serv'd by Kings, Rich in Gold and Silver, Mighty in Power and Arms, wholly confided in the Love of the People of *Rome*, and gave himself to Feastings and Luxury in *Antioch*. In the mean time the March of *Severus* with his Army began to rouse *Julian* from his Drowsy Slumber; who putting himself in Arms, apply'd himself wholly to make all necessary Provisions for a War; in which he found many discouraging Prospects. The *Prætorian* Soldiers wanted Experience and Discipline, and were enervated and dissolv'd in Ease and Luxury: The People of *Rome* and the *Equites* repair'd to him very slowly and unwillingly, by reason of his infamous Title to the Empire: And the *Italian* Cities and Towns, being for so many Ages cover'd with the Rust of Peace and Plenty, wou'd make no considerable Opposition or Resistance. The chief Friends of *Julian* advis'd him with all possible Expedition to meet *Severus* in his March, and stop his Passage over the *Alps*; but *Julian* being confounded with Multiplicity of Business, and wanting either the Courage or the Conduct for so vigorous an Attempt, made the best Provision for his own Defence in *Rome*. But in these Preparations he was suddenly surpriz'd with

the News of *Severus's* Entrance into *Italy*; and that the greatest Part of the Cities had receiv'd him, and yielded him Obedience. The People of *Rome* seeing the successful Progress of *Severus*, and finding *Niger* very negligent in *Asia*, began to approve of his coming, and more earnestly wish'd for the Ruin of *Julian*.

Julian finding himself reduc'd to these straits, obtain'd the Consent of the Senate to write and send Ambassadors to *Severus*, offering to make him his Equal and Companion in the Empire; but *Severus* not satisfy'd with a Part, rejected his Proposals, knowing himself to be of greater Power than *Julian*, though supported by the Authority of the Senate, who now perceiving his little Conduct and less Strength, began to abandon him. And though he only desir'd that the Vestal Virgins (which were never sent but in the last Extremity) might be sent to appease *Severus*, and beg an Accommodation; yet the Senate would not yield, alledging, *That He was unworthy to govern who cou'd not defend the Empire by his Arms.* So that the Matter came to that Issue, that *Julian* confounded with ill Success, and void of all Relief and Assistance, was constrain'd to retire to his Palace, generally abandoned, except by a few Soldiers. The Senate thereupon was assembled according to the Ancient Custom by the *Consuls*, where the Fathers unanimously decreed, *That Julian shou'd be depriv'd of the Empire, and Severus be proclaim'd Emperor*; and some of the principal Senators were sent to *Severus*, to yield him Obedience, and offer him the Arms and Ensigns of the Empire. Then spreading a Report that *Julian* had poison'd himself, they commanded him to be slain in his Palace, where the unfortunate Emperor was found disarm'd, with some few of his

his Friends, fervilely weeping like a Child. While the Messengers seiz'd on him, he thus expostulated with them, *What Crime have I committed? What Man have I slain?* But all in vain; for they leading him into the secret Baths of the Palace, his Neck being stretched forth after the Manner of Condemn'd Criminals, his Head was struck off, as *An. Victor* relates it, and afterwards set up in the Court, where the Causes were pleaded. This was the miserable End of *Didius Julian*, the Twentieth Emperor of *Rome*, after a short Reign of only Two Months and Eight Days, though some say more; a Person who being Rich, Honourable and Ancient, by his foolish and shameful Purchasing the Empire, entirely wasted his Estate, irreparably ruin'd his Reputation, and ignominiously lost his Life,

The Death of
Julian.

II. The Death of *Julian* gave a general Satisfaction to the City; and the nearer *Severus* approach'd, the more forward was each Person in testifying his Submission. The Ambassadors from the Senate met him on his March, and in the Name of the Senate and People of *Rome* yielded him Obedience, gave him the Ensigns of the Empire, and the Title of *Augustus*, and certify'd him of the Death of *Julian*. He receiv'd the Embassy in the Presence of his Army rang'd in Order, making Presents to the Ambassadors; and entertaining them honourably, continu'd his March towards *Rome*, where his coming was dreaded both by the Soldiers and Citizens; the former for murdering his Friend *Pertinax*, and the latter for making Choice of *Niger* for their Emperor. *Severus* as he came near to the City, sent Orders to all the *Prætorian* Soldiers to come forth and receive him peaceably, leaving their Arms

A. D.
193.

Severus made
Emperor.

Arms in their Camp ; all which was readily obey'd, in hopes of pleasing and appeasing Him by their joyful Observance of his Commands. But concealing his Designs from all but a few of his Chief Commanders, he attended their coming in a particular Place chosen for that Purpose ; where, upon their coming forwards to pay him Homage, they were suddenly surrounded by his Army : And making a short Speech to them, he reproach'd them with their barbarous and infamous Practices towards the Emperor and Empire, commanded them to be immediately stript of all their Military Habiliments, depriv'd them of the very Name and Honour of Soldiers, and banish'd them a Hundred Miles from *Rome* : A Punishment, though signal and exemplary, yet not equal to the Hainousness of their Crimes ; particularly their villanous Murder of their Sovereign Master, and their shameful degrading of the Honour of the *Roman* Empire. Shortly after, *Severus* made his Entry into *Rome* with his whole Army, where the Number and Order of his Soldiers was both a noble and a formidable Sight. He was met at the Gates by the Senate, who saluted him after the usual Manner, and the People receiv'd him with great Blessings and Applauses, notwithstanding nothing was more odious to the *Romans* than such an armed and warlike Entrance. Having perform'd the accustom'd Solemnities, and visited the Temples, he enter'd the Imperial Palace ; and the next Day assembling the Senate, he repair'd to the House with several Armed Men. He there made a smooth and ingenious Speech, professing his Intention was to govern with true Justice and Clemency, and according to the Prescriptions of *Antoninus Philosophus* ; excusing himself for assuming the venerable Name and

Authority

D. A.
183.

Authority of Emperor, without their Consents first obtain'd; alledging he did it purely to revenge the Death of Pertinax, and to free them from the Tyranny of Julian, a Person wholly unworthy to govern that Empire, which he had purchas'd with Money, and not Merits. Which fair Speeches and Promises gave a general Satisfaction to the Fathers, though some of them were not ignorant of the Subtlety of his Temper as well as the Worth of Actions.

Septimius Severus was by Birth an *African*, in the City of *Leptis*, and was the only Emperor of that Country: His Father's Name was *Geta*, and his Mother's *Fulvia Pia*, who had two Brothers that were both *Consuls*. He was about 47 Years of Age when he enter'd upon the Empire, and had before attain'd by his Industry to be *Quæstor*, *Tribune*, *Prætor*, *Proconsul*, and *Consul*, holding several Commands and Charges, wherein he purchas'd the Name and Reputation of a Valiant, Wise and Excellent Commander. He was likewise truly commended for his Wit and Learning, his Prudence and Policy, and his Vigour and Hardiness; but at the same time justly Condemn'd for his *Punick* Craft and Diffimulation, his Treachery and Infidelity, and his Hatred and Cruelty; for which he is observ'd by *Spartian* truly to Answer his Name, *Vere Pertinax, Vere Severus*: In sum, his Temper and Circumstances dispos'd Him to the Performance both of the greatest Acts and the bloodiest Severities. He had no sooner enter'd upon the Empire; but he vigorously set about the Reformation of Abuses in the City; and speedily made Choice of new Men for the *Prætorian* Cohorts and Guards, in the Room of those already cashier'd. And making a solemn Funeral for the Emperor *Pertinax*, in Memory of the

the good old Man, he more publickly took upon him the Surname of *Pertinax*. He gave many Gifts and Rewards to his Soldiers, and also to the People of *Rome*; and according to the Custom of New-created Emperors, made large Distributions and Donatives. He also marry'd two Daughters he had, to two Principal Men of *Rome*, call'd *Probus* and *Acus*; and having bestow'd large Dowries on them, he us'd such Methods that they were both made Consuls. And whereas at that time there was a great Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*, he took such prudent Care, and with such Expedition, that the City in short time was sufficiently provided and supply'd; which provident Course was always so carefully observ'd, that during all the times of his Absence, and his whole Reign, there never was any Want. All these and many other Establishments he made in the Space of only Thirty Days; resolving with all possible Expedition to March against *Niger* in the East, a formidable Rival, who wanted neither Forces, nor Valour to support his Interest and Pretensions.

Before the Emperor began his March, he took great Care to secure all the Provinces behind him, and sent a new Governor and Legions into *Africk*, to guard that Province from any Invasion of *Niger's* by Way of *Egypt* and *Lybia*. But his greatest Fear was from *Clodius Albinus*, Commander of the Legions in *Britain*, a Person of an Illustrious Family and generally belov'd; therefore to secure his Interest and Amity, he politickly gave him the Title of *Cæsar* and his Successor, beseeching him by Letters, as the worthiest Person, to take care of the Empire of *Rome*, since himself was grown aged and declining, and his Children in a manner Infants. And further to deceive him,

*Albinus made
Cæsar.*

him, he wrote in the same nature to the Senate, order'd Money to be Stamp'd with his Image, Erected him Statues, and gave him other Honours. These subtle Artifices almost transported *Albinus*; who vainly believing he shou'd gain that with Ease, which he design'd to attempt by Force, lost his most advantageous Opportunities, and made no considerable Attempts till *Severus* was in a full Capacity of resisting him. *Severus* with the greatest Force he cou'd raise, and the utmost Expedition march'd towards the East to oppose *Niger*; who understanding the Success of *Severus*, rouz'd himself from his Soft and Luxurious Delights, and with great Diligence and Expedition made Preparations to resist him: He sent a considerable Force to secure the Passages between *Europe* and *Asia*; and also sent for Succours from the Kings of *Armenia*, *Parthia*, and other Kings and Potentates of the East; from whom and from the Provinces under his Subjection, he gather'd a powerful and numerous Army. Thus the World was divided into two Factions, and there began a War as severe as any in the former Ages of the *Roman* State, being carry'd on in many Parts both by Sea and Land, and highly remarkable both for the Valour of the Commanders, and the Power and Number of the Forces. *Severus* in his Passage from *Europe* into *Asia* was extreemly incommoded and molested by the Forces of *Niger*, under the Command of a valiant General call'd *Emilian*; who having drawn together all the Forces that *Niger* had given him, and likewise what he cou'd levy out of the Provinces of *Asia Minor*, advantageously attack'd *Severus* in his Passage; but after many Skirmishes, being forc'd to a general Battel, *Emilian* was with much Bloodshed overthrown, and all his Troops dispers'd.

Severus's Expedition against Niger.

After

After this Battel, the vanquish'd Troops which escap'd, retired all to *Niger*, who with all his Forces was then at the City of *Antioch*; from whence he remov'd to meet with *Severus* upon his March: And advancing towards him, after some Skirmishes, and smaller Encounters, both Armies drew up, according to *Herodian*, in a Spacious Plain near the Bay of *Iffus*, where *Alexander the Great* first vanquish'd *Darius*. Here infinite Numbers of all sorts of People were gather'd together upon the Tops of the adjacent Mountains to view this important Battel, which in this Place was agreed to be fought by the bravest Generals, the greatest Forces, and the best Soldiers then in the World. The Battel began with exceeding Sharpness and Fury on both Sides, and continu'd the greatest Part of the Day without any apparent Advantage; by which means the Number of the Slain and Wounded was so great, that the Streams of Water which ran through the Fields were so distain'd with the Blood of Men and Horses, that they seem'd to have lost their Nature as well as their Colour. In fine, After a most obstinate Fight, the Experience and Discipline of *Severus's* Troops prevail'd against the numerous Forces of *Niger*, who though he had fail'd in no Point which a good Commander ought to observe, was totally overthrown, and in his Flight was taken by the Soldiers of *Severus*, who struck off his Head, and insultingly carry'd it through the Camp upon the Point of a Lance. Thus fell *Sexenius Niger*, who is noted to have been a valiant and applauded Tribune, an excellent and expert Colonel, a severe and upright General, a wise and faithful Consul, and in all things happy and successful; but only unfortunate in being Emperor, not knowing how to govern himself in so exalted a Station.

The Over-
throw and
Death of *Ni-
ger*.

Station. *Severus* immediately advertis'd the Senate of this great Victory, commanding that the Wife and Children of *Niger* shou'd be banish'd from *Rome*, and as a Conqueror perform'd his Pleasure upon the Vanquish'd, destroying without mercy great Numbers of those who had join'd with *Niger*; and particularly demolish'd the Great City *Antioch*, which in a special manner had aided and assisted his Adversary. On the contrary, he gave large Gifts and Rewards to such as had been serviceable to him, speedily repairing the Damages which several Cities of his Party had sustain'd from the Forces of *Niger*; and in all these Actions, as no Man cou'd shew himself more severe in punishing Offences, and persecuting Enemies, so no Man more grateful and bountiful in rewarding of Friends and Assistants. After this Victory he found no Resistance in the *Eastern* Provinces of the Empire; but the *Parthians*, the *Persians*, and the *Adiabeniens*, (very powerful Nations,) out of Love to *Niger*, and Hatred to the *Roman* Name, immediately took up Arms against *Severus*, who expeditiously march'd against them in Person, had many Battels and Incounters with them, and obtain'd such signal Victories over them, that he both enlarg'd the *Roman* Name and Empire, and establish'd Peace in the *East*.

After these several Successes, *Severus* now consulted how he might best secure the Empire to his Family, which could not be thoroughly effected while *Albinus* continu'd *Cæsar*, and had so good a Title to it; having besides gain'd the Affections of many of the Nobility, who judg'd him more worthy of the Empire than Him who now possess'd it. For which Reasons *Severus* resolv'd to remove him; but judging open War not so expedient at this Juncture, he first attempted his Design

Albinus proclaim'd Emperor by his Soldiers.

sign by Treachery, sending some Messengers, who, under Colour of bringing Letters, were design'd to dispatch him. *Albinus* being advertis'd of the Designs of *Severus* against him, prevented the Attempt, betook himself to open Force, and proclaim'd himself Emperor; having a very great Force, and a powerful Interest to support his Pretensions. The News of this being carry'd to *Severus* in the East, he being of a haughty and ambitious Temper, shew'd but a small concern for these Difficulties; and setting all things in order in these Parts, with his Army he set forwards towards *Rome*, with design to march against *Albinus*, as against an Usurper and a Rebel. And passing from *Asia* into *Europe*, over the Streight at *Bizantium*, since call'd *Constantinople*, he wholly destroy'd that mighty City, and levell'd it with the Ground, because it had vigorously resisted his Forces when he march'd against *Niger*; and so that famous City continued desolate for above 130 years, till the Reign of *Constantine the Great*. In the mean time, *Albinus* being advertis'd of *Severus's* March towards *Rome*, he remov'd out of *Britain* into *Gaul*, where with his new-raisd Forces he had a very powerful Army; part of which he sent to guard the difficult Passes of the *Alps*, to hinder the March of *Severus*, whom he understood was arriv'd at *Rome*, and was now upon the March to meet him. Before which time *Severus* had put *Niger's* Children to Death, to extinguish the very Memory of his Enemy; and going to the Wars, he appointed his Eldest Son *Bassianus Caracalla* for his Successor, and entitl'd him *Cæsar*, changing his Name to *Aurelius Antoninus*, and dispersing large Donatives and Distributions to the People and Soldiers; this was done about the Sixth Year of his Reign, A. D. 199.

Caracalla
made *Cæsar*.

Severus

Severus drawing near to his Enemies, the Wars began with great Vigour and Severity on both Sides, and about the *Alps* *Severus's* Captains were overthrown in several Skirmishes and Encounters. After he had with great Difficulty pass'd these Mountains, the War was kindled in several Parts, and in many Conflicts and Skirmishes Fortune shew'd her self very variable, giving Victories and Advantages to either Party: Till at last, near the City *Lugdunum* or *Lions*, where *Albinus* was lodg'd, both Commanders drawing together their whole Force and Power, they fought one of the most sharp and bloody Battels that was ever recorded in the *Roman* Story; which continu'd the greatest Part of the Day without any Appearance of Disproportion or Advantage on either Side. At length the Victory seem'd to incline to *Albinus*, whose Troops fought with that Rage and Obstinacy, that they forc'd *Severus's* Men to retire, so as they began to fly: And at the same time *Severus's* Horse fell with him, every Man giving him for lost; so that *Albinus's* Soldiers began to cry *Victory, Victory!* without observing any Regularity in pursuing their Advantage. But the Battel was soon restor'd by *Lætus*, one of *Severus's* Commanders, who till then with a considerable Party had kept himself in Reserve, designing to destroy both Parties, and to set up himself. His unexpected coming in, chang'd the Face of Affairs, and rescu'd *Severus*, who charg'd with that Fury and Exactness, that he soon pluck'd the Victory out of the Hands of *Albinus's* Soldiers, who accounting themselves Conquerors, had observ'd no exact Order: And this was so well seconded, that shortly after the *Albinians* were put to Flight; and *Severus* vigorously pursuing the Advantage, cut off great Numbers even to the Gates of the City of *Lugdunum*.

Severus's Expedition against Albinus.

The Overthrow and Death of *Albinus*.

num. The City was soon enter'd, and *Albinus* taken Prisoner, whose Head was struck off, and brought to *Severus*, who receiv'd it with exceeding Satisfaction; and writing to the Senate and People of *Rome*, he sent it thither, commanding it to be set upon a Pole in the publick *Forum*. We are told that he barbarously insulted over the dead Body of *Albinus*, riding many times over it upon a furious Horse, and cast it all dismally mangled into the River *Rhofne*, together with the Carcasses of his Wife and Children, whom he commanded to be slain. All Senators on the contrary Party who were slain in Battel, he commanded to be quarter'd; and such as were taken alive, were immediately executed; as likewise were the Kinsmen and Friends of *Albinus*, together with many of the principal Noblemen of *Gaul* and *Spain*. An infinite Number of Sacrifices were made to his Fury and Revenge, which render'd this Emperor extremely odious to some, and no less terrible to many others.

After this Victory, all the Cities and Places which assisted *Albinus* were soon subdu'd and reduc'd to Obedience; and *Severus* leaving *Gaul* and *Germany* in Peace, and sending the ordinary Legions into *Britain* to keep the Inhabitants in Subjection, he return'd to *Rome*, and enter'd the City in a triumphant manner with his whole Army, where he was receiv'd with great appearance of Joy and Satisfaction, though the People stood in great Fear of him. Here he bestow'd greater Rewards than ordinary upon his Soldiers, giving them not only Money, but also such Privileges as accidentally strengthned his own Authority, but prov'd extremely prejudicial to the Publick. For the Soldiers having formerly through the Looseness and Neglect of ill Emperors contracted Sloth and

and Avarice, were by these Incouragements still more incited to violate the Sovereignty, to depose, destroy, and set up whom they pleas'd. Now *Severus* added more Fuel to the Flame, augmented their Allowance of Corn, gave them Licence to wear Gold Rings, as *Equites* or Knights, and to marry and maintain Wives; which broke in pieces the Relicts of the Ancient Discipline, and caus'd innumerable Mischiefs and Bloudsheds in the State. After these Rewards *Severus* enter'd the Senate; and in disgrace of that venerable Assembly, he renew'd the Titles and Memory of the Tyrant *Commodus*, destroy'd his Murtherers, call'd himself his Brother, and made him to be Canoniz'd and ador'd as a God. He also condemn'd to Death a great Number of the Nobility of *Rome*, who had been either the Friends of *Albinus*, or of his Party; producing Letters which he said were written by them, wherein they had offer'd their Persons and Estates to the Service of *Albinus*; alledging other Reasons and Proofs, of which some are suppos'd to have been forg'd. He us'd the like Severity to many Eminent Persons of *Niger's* Party; and in this many considerable Matrons and *Roman* Ladies cou'd not escape his Fury. By all which Executions he extreamly enrich'd himself by the Estates and Goods of the condemn'd Persons, of which some was distributed to others; but he principally enrich'd and advanc'd a Favourite of his call'd *Plantian*, an *African* by Birth, and his Countryman, whom he made Praefect of the *Pretorian* Soldiers, and afterwards marry'd his Eldest Son *Caracalla* to his Daughter *Plantina*. He likewise shew'd himself very liberal and bountiful, bestowing great Favours upon many others, and endeavouring to become popular and acceptable to all Men; and to that End he made the noblest

Entertainments, and the most solemn Games that ever were made in *Rome*, and distributed large Quantities of Money among the People.

Severus's Expedition in the East.

Severus staid not long in *Rome*; for understanding that Affairs were unsetled in *Asia*, particularly that the *Parthians* had invaded the Frontiers of the Empire, and being desirous of Honour, and to be reveng'd of some Kings who had assisted his Enemy *Niger*; he with his accustom'd Vigour and Celerity departed towards the *East*, though Aged and Gouty. Being arriv'd in *Asia* sooner than any cou'd expect him, he immediately began the War in *Armenia*, marching against *Barzenius* King of the *Atrenores*, who had been a particular Friend to *Niger*: The King of *Armenia* durst make no Resistance, but sent the Emperor Presents, sued for Peace, and gave such Hostages as he required. Whereupon this valiant Emperor turn'd his Forces against *Arabia-Felix*, where there was then a Mutiny, and took and plunder'd several Cities; and from thence return'd against the Frontiers of the *Atrenores*, and invested the City of *Atras* or *Atramas*, the Metropolis of that Country. But being unable to take it soon, by reason of its Strength and Provision, he in a great Fury march'd against the *Parthians* and the *Persians*; and with a wonderful Expedition besieg'd the famous City *Ctesiphon*, where King *Artabanus* lay with all his Family and Riches. After many vigorous Attacks and Encounters, and much Bloudshed on both Sides, he enter'd the City by Force of Arms; and the King escaping by Flight, his Children and Treasure fell all into the Hands of *Severus*; which was accounted the more signal Conquest, because the *Romans* stood in greater Fear of the *Parthians*, than of any other Nation in the World. *Severus* immediately went to the Senate, advertising the Fa-
thers

thers of his Victories and Successes, and sent them a particular Description of the Countries, Cities, Rivers and Mountains he had pass'd, and what Battels and Skirmishes he had fought, all drawn and painted upon Tables; for which he obtain'd the Surnames of *Arabicus*, *Parthicus* and *Adiabenicus*. After these Advantages, he bountifully rewarded his Soldiers; and coming into *Palestine*, he there forbid any under the severest Penalties to become *Jews*. From thence he went into *Egypt*, being desirous to view the famous Pyramids, and other ancient Monuments of that Country; designing shortly after to return to *Rome* in Triumph.

During the Emperor's Absence, his Favourite *Plautian*, whom he had made Governor of the City, put to Death great Numbers of the Nobility and Common People, among which the *Christians* bore a considerable, if not the greatest Share; which caus'd *Severus* afterwards to apologize for himself; declaring, That he had no Hand in these Executions. The cruel and barbarous Usage so generally practis'd against the *Christians* caus'd *Tertullian*, that eminent Champion of *Christianity*, to publish his famous Apology, which he dedicated to the Senate, and the Magistrates of the *Roman* Empire; wherein, with incomparable Eloquence, Evidence and Strength of Reason he pleaded the Cause of the *Christians*; Complaining of the Unreasonableness and Injustice of their Enemies, and the irregular Methods of their Proceedings; clearly demonstrating the Vanity and Falshood of the Crimes commonly charg'd upon the *Christians*, arguing their Meekness and Innocency, their Temperance and Sobriety, their Piety to God, their Obedience to their Prince, the Soundness of their Principles and the Sanctity of their Lives, beyond all possible Exceptions. This Apology

The fifth General Persecution.

A. D.

202.

much contributed towards the cooling and qualifying this Calenture, especially at the Return of the Emperor, who had never countenanc'd these Severities. But not long after he turn'd his Cruelty against the *Christians*, publish'd Edicts against them as well as the *Jews*, and rais'd a most sharp Persecution, which was the Fifth General Persecution of the Church. This broke out in the Tenth Year of this Emperor's Reign, 35 Years after the Beginning, or the Rage, of the Fourth Persecution under *Antoninus Philosophus*; and the *Christians* were persecuted under the Notions of impious and infamous Persons, who design'd nothing but Treason and Rebellion against the State. The Emperors Edicts were executed with that Rigour and Inhumanity, that the *Christians* in those Days really believ'd that the Times of *Antichrist* did then take Place. Among the Multitude of Martyrs that suffer'd under this Persecution, were *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*; *St. Irenæus*, Bishop of *Lugdunum* or *Lyons*; *Leonidas*, the Father of *Origen*, who was beheaded at *Alexandria*; *Potamiæna*, an illustrious Virgin, and her Mother *Marcella*, who after various Torments were committed to the Flames; and *Basilides*, one of the Officers, who led them to Execution.

Caracalla marry'd to *Plautian's* Daughter.

Not long after *Severus's* Return from his *Parthian* Expedition, laden with the Spoils and Riches of the *East*, he marry'd his eldest Son *Caracalla* to *Plautina*, the Daughter of his principal Favourite *Plautian*, having before made his Son Partner with him in his Tribunitial, and some say Imperial Power. This Marriage was solemniz'd wholly against the Indications of *Caracalla*, who much neglected her Society and Conversation; which caus'd a great Hatred and Dissention between him and his Father-in-law *Plautian*. This Favourite finding

finding himself rais'd to the greatest Height, and that he was the richest and mightiest Man in the Empire; and likewise perceiving that *Severus* was aged and declining, and dreading the Consequence of his Son's Succession, he resolv'd to destroy both Father and Son, in order to make himself Emperor; and to effect this Design, he made choice of a Tribune of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, of which he himself was Commander. But this Treason was soon discover'd by the same Tribune to *Severus*, who receiv'd it as an incredible Story, conceiving it only to be some Practice of his Sons, who so much hated *Plautian*. But being fully assur'd of the Truth of this Matter, it was determin'd that this Tribune shou'd go and bring *Plautian* into the Emperor's Chamber. The Tribune coming to *Plautian*, told him a formal Relation of his killing *Severus* and *Caracalla*; and if he pleas'd to accompany him, he shou'd see them both dead together: Upon the Delivery of which Message he saluted him as Emperor. As *Plautian* eagerly desir'd their Deaths, he readily gave Credit to his words, and hastily went with the Tribune, who late at Night brought him into the Emperor's Chamber; where he found the Emperor and his Son among several of their principal Friends, and the Chamber full of lighted Torches. This unexpected Sight much confounded *Plautian*, who being demanded by the Emperor, *What Business brought him thither at that unseasonable Time*, not knowing what to answer, confess'd his Error, and crav'd his Pardon; but the Fury of *Caracalla* was so great, that no Supplications cou'd be heard, but his Sword put an End to his Treason and Villany, which had been notorious to the utmost Degree.

The Death of
Plautian.

Ludi Seculares.

A. D.

204.

Severus having escap'd this Danger, spent a considerable time in visiting some Cities in *Italy*, in hearing Complaints, and doing of Justice; in which he is deservedly applauded by all Writers, being particularly so exact as to Places of Trust, that he permitted no Man in his Dominions to sell his Honours and Dignities. Returning to *Rome*, he celebrated the grand Secular Games, which were the most Solemn and Magnificent of all others among the *Romans*, it being in the Twelfth Year of his Reign, and an Hundred and twenty Years since they were last solemniz'd by the Emperor *Domitian*. These are believ'd to have given Occasion to *Tertullian* to write his Book, *de Spectaculis*, and likewise that, *de Idololatria*. The Emperor likewise erected many noble Works and Buildings in *Rome*, and other Cities, took great care of the Publick; and, notwithstanding his Cruelty and Avarice, he perform'd many Parts of a wise Governor, and a worthy Prince. He took such an exact Order in the Preservation of his Treasury, and was so covetous in gathering it together, that notwithstanding his large Expences, and his infinite Gifts and Rewards, he left behind him more Money and Treasure in his Exchequer than any of his Predecessors. He kept and maintain'd so many Legions of Soldiers, that there was no cause to fear any Foreign King or Nation in the World; and was so careful of Provisions, that he left in *Rome* such Quantities of Wheat, Wine, and Oyl, as were sufficient to maintain and supply the City for five Years. But his greatest Care and Concern was for his two Sons, *Caracalla* and *Geta*, to educate them according to their Quality and Dignity in all worthy and virtuous Exercises, and to establish a lasting Amity between them, for they had often violent Heats and Dissentions.

And

And designing the Empire for them both, he declar'd them his Successors conjointly, and in a manner invest'd them in the Empire; whence in some Ancient Inscriptions, *Severus*, and his two Sons are put together, under the Title of *Augusti* and Emperors. This was done about the Sixteenth Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 208.

About the same time the Emperor receiv'd Advice, That the *Northern* Inhabitants of *Britain* were up in Arms, and had been so successful, that the standing Legions were in Danger of being destroy'd, or constrain'd to fly the Province, which gave him great uneasiness. But that the Empire in his Reign shou'd not be diminish'd by the loss of an Island of such great Importance, he resolv'd to go thither in Person, though aged and gouty; and the better to prevent the Enmity and Irregularities of his Sons, he took them along with him. The *Britains* understanding the Emperor's Approach, and dreading his Power, offer'd him an honourable Peace; but the old Emperor had such an insatiable Desire to obtain the glorious Title of *Britannicus*, that he refus'd their Proposals. Upon his Entrance into the Country, he left his Son *Geta* in the *Southern* Parts of the Province, which had continued in Obedience, and march'd with his Son *Caracalla* against the *Northern Britains* and *Caledonians*, where with the cutting down Woods, making of Bridges, drying up Meers, the Enemies Ambuscades, and Sickness, he lost Fifty thousand Men, according to *Dion*. The old Emperor encounter'd these Miseries and Difficulties with exceeding Bravery, and prosecuted his Attempts with such a vigorous Resolution, that he forc'd them to a Peace, with the delivery of a considerable Part of their Country, with all their Arms and Weapons. And for the better security of

Caracalla and *Geta* secur'd in the Empire.

Severus's Expedition into Britain.

of *Britain*, he built, or rather much improv'd that famous Wall begun by the Emperor *Adrian*, which he made answerable to the Power and Grandeur of the *Roman* Empire. At the end of each Mile was a Tower, and between each Tower, Pipes of Brass in the Wall convey'd the least Sound from Garison to Garison without Interruption; so that the News of approaching Enemies was immediately spread over the Borders, and occasion'd Provision to be made for Resistance. For this, and his Victories, he assum'd the Title of *Britannicus Maximus*, causing that Inscription to be stamp'd upon his own, and his Sons Coyns. The Emperor after this retir'd himself at *Eboricum* or *York*, leaving the Work to be finish'd by his Son *Caracalla*, who by his Popularity to the Soldiers, and his excessive Loosness, gave an Occasion to the *Caledonians* to break their Articles, and Revolt; which so enrag'd the distemper'd Emperor, that he gave Commands to make a general Massacre without Distinction, which was executed with exceeding Severity.

Severus having been nigh two Years in *Britain*, at *Eboricum* he grew weak, partly with Age and Travel, and partly with Grief for the irreclaimable Life of his eldest Son; and daily declining, he understood that the Soldiers had declar'd him Emperor. This so rous'd Him, that he got himself immediately into his Litter, and commanded the new Emperor, with the Tribunes and Centurions, to be forthwith brought before him, who were all so confounded with the Majesty of his Looks, that they implor'd Pardon upon their Knees. Whereupon he lai'd his Hands upon his own Head, crying, *Know, that it is the Head that Govern's, and not the Feet*, and so dismiss them. His Distemper encreasing, and perceiving his Death approaching,

proaching, he cri'd out, *I have been all that a Man can be, but it is of no use to me now.* And ordering his Urn to be brought, wherein his Ashes were to be inclos'd, and taking it in his Hands, *Little Urn*, said he, *thou shalt now contain what the whole World cou'd not before.* After this calling his Sons and his Friends about him, he made this remarkable Speech to them, *When I took the Empire upon me, I found it declining and languishing; and now being aged and decrepid, I leave it in a State firm and lasting to my Sons, if they prove Good; if otherwise, feeble and sinking.* His Pains increasing, especially in his Feet, he in vain call'd for Poyson, according to *Au. Victor*, and then glutted himself with gross Meats, which for want of Digestion soon ended his Life. Thus died *Septimius Severus*, the Twenty first Emperor of *Rome*, near the 66th Year of his Age, after a turbulent, but successful Reign of about Eighteen Years; a Prince of extraordinary Excellencies and Imperfections, who perform'd many noble and notorious Acts; so that what was formerly said of *Augustus*, was said of him, *That it had been better for the Publick if he had never been born, or had never di'd; and likewise the same that was said of Antoninus Philosophus, That he had been happy, if he had had no Children.* He was certainly highly serviceable to the Re-establishing, and the Strengthening of a tottering Empire; but at the same time by his unreasonable Encouragement of the Soldiery, and his Advice to his Sons to that purpose, he open'd a Gap to greater Inconveniencies than ever hapned before. He di'd in the 964th Year of the City, 235 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 211 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 115 after the last of the Twelve *Cæsars*; in which time, we are told, That the World was so loose,

The Death
of Severus.

that

that Three thousand were indicted for Adultery in his Reign.

A. D.

211.

*Caracalla and
Geta made
Emperors.*

III. Upon the Death of *Severus*, his eldest Son *Caracalla* immediately solicited the Army to chuse him Emperor alone, and to exclude his Brother *Geta*: But the Soldiers having formerly caus'd his Brother's Advancement, rejected his Suit, and proclaim'd them both Emperors, and so they were acknowledg'd by the Senate. They were both young Men, and born of two Mothers, the eldest of *Martia*, and the other of *Julia*. *Caracalla* was so call'd from a newfashion'd Cassock he wore, reaching down to his Ancles, and was about Twenty three Years of Age when he arriv'd at the Empire. In his Youth, when any Criminal was cast to the Wild Beasts, he was generally observ'd to turn away his Eyes and weep; but this Pity and Tenderness soon forsook him, and he became one of the cruelest Monsters in the World. His Brother *Geta* was naturally of a milder and softer Temper, and liv'd more the Life of a Philosopher; and therefore the more hated by him. The two Brothers being establish'd in the Empire, agreed to leave *Britain* with their Mother, *Julia*, who was then with them, and return to *Rome*, bearing the Ashes of their Father *Severus*. But in their Journey there arose such Jealousies and Contests between the two Emperors, that it was daily fear'd one shou'd destroy the other; notwithstanding *Julia*, as though she had been Mother to both, us'd all possible Methods to reconcile them, and to bring them to an amicable Accommodation. But all her Endeavours prov'd ineffectual, and their Animosities encreasing upon the way, either of them Lodg'd and Eat separately, and each stood upon his Guard for fear of the other. Being arriv'd

riv'd at *Rome*, they were receiv'd with great Joy and Solemnity for their Father's sake, whose Death was much lamented notwithstanding his many Crimes; but in their Palaces they took their Lodgings apart, and each had his particular Guard and Officers for himself; and they never visited, saw, or spake to one another, but when they went to the Senate-House; so inveterate was their Hatred to one another.

The first thing the two Emperors did after their Arrival at *Rome*, was the *Apotheosis*, or Deification of their Father, which was perform'd according to the ancient and usual Custom; and because it so well shews the Religion and Superstition of the *Romans*, we shall here briefly recite the Particulars of this pompous Solemnity. First, the whole City was commanded to go into a general Mourning, being mix'd with some festival Solemnity: *Apotheosis.* Next a pale Image was made of Wax, exactly resembling the deceased Emperor, which was plac'd on a stately Ivory Bed, magnificently adorn'd with Cloth of Gold, and plac'd at the Entrance of the Palace: On the left Hand were seated the whole Body of the Senators in Black; on the Right, the Ladies of the highest Quality in plain White Habits, without Jewels or other Ornaments. This lasted for seven Days, during which time the Physicians resorted to the Image, as though it was a real Patient, still signifying, *That they had less and less Hopes of the Emperor's Life*; at which Words the Mourners always give a Groan. At last, when they had declar'd his Death, the noblest and youngest of the Senators and *Roman* Knights carri'd the Bed upon their Shoulders through the *Via Sacra* into the old *Forum*, where the Magistrates were wont to lay down their Offices. On each side of the Place were erected two large Scaffolds,

Scaffolds, one fill'd with young Boys, and the other with young Maids, all Children of the highest Quality, who sung Hymns and Songs in Honour to the Dead, in the most solemn and mournful Manner imaginable. These being finish'd, the Senators and Knights again took up the Bed and carri'd it out of the City into the *Campus Martius*, where was erected a beautiful Structure of Wood, almost in the Form of a Pyramid, with several Stories. The First Story was Square, and was a sort of a Chamber fill'd with all sorts of combustible Matter, and richly adorn'd on the outside with Cloth of Gold, Ivory-Statues, and fine Pictures: The Second was of the same Figure, though somewhat less, having the same Ornaments, with this only difference, that the four sides of it were open: Upon this was a third still less, and upon that a fourth, and so a great many other Stories, still growing less in Proportion, till the last ended in a Point. The Bed and Statue were plac'd in the second Story, which was fill'd with the richest Flowers, Plants, Odours, Gums and Spices; all Cities, Nations, and Private Persons striving by their Presents who shou'd do most Honour to their Deceased Emperor. After this the *Roman* Knights rode on Horseback round this Pile in a certain Order and Measure, according to the Sound of several Warlike Instruments; to this there follow'd certain Persons in Chariots, in Purple Robes, with Masks on, representing to the Life the Faces of the most famous Commanders and Emperors among the *Romans*. These being ended, his Successors in the Empire set Fire to the Pile with Torches; the Consuls, Senators and Knights did the same each to their own appointed side. All was in a Flame in a Moment, and at the same time from the Top of the Pile an Eagle

was

was let fly, which was immediately out of sight. This was accompani'd with infinite Shouts and Applauses; and the People believing that it was that Eagle which carri'd the Emperor's Soul to Heaven, from that Moment they paid him the same Worship that they did to the Immortal Gods.

The Two Emperors had Reign'd but a short time before *Caracalla*, envying the Love and Reputation that his Brother *Geta* had gain'd by his Mildness and Courtesy, sought means to destroy him by Poison, or any other private Way; and also sought to gain the Affections of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, making them many Presents, and doing them many Favours, withal giving them leave to live according to their Pleasure. So that the City soon found the ill Effects of a State being govern'd by Two Princes of equal Power and Authority, and so contrary in their Tempers, that they continually practis'd each other's Death; in Matters of Justice and Administration were ever contrary in Opinion; and in chusing of Commanders and Governors, each sought to prefer his own particular Friends and Favourites, as likewise they did in the Elections of Consuls and other Magistrates, which caus'd all things to succeed according to Favour and Contention. By which means insupportable Injuries and Disorders were daily committed, either of them persecuting the contrary Faction, without daring to punish those of their own Party, lest they shou'd make them their Enemies; whence grew an universal Prejudice to the City and Provinces, and indeed to the whole Empire. Wherefore to avoid these dangerous Inconveniences, some propos'd to them to make a Division of the Empire, particularly that *Caracalla* shou'd remain in *Rome*, and govern

govern the West, and that *Geta* shou'd govern *Asia* and all the East. But this hopeful Project prov'd altogether ineffectual; for *Julia* the Mother of *Geta* prevented it, not doubting but to draw them to some Composition, and Establish a mutual Friendship between them. But when she had almost assur'd her self of a lasting Concord and Agreement, *Caracalla*, who despis'd his Brother for his Inclination to Books more than Arms, resolv'd in a more open manner to assault his Brother, thinking that he himself was and ought in Justice to be Sole Emperor, purposing no longer to endure a Rival and Companion in Authority. And with this impious Determination, as they were lodg'd both in one Palace, *Geta* being in the Presence of his Mother, not suspecting open Violence, though fearing secret Treachery; *Caracalla*, when the Attendants were at Dinner, suddenly and furiously enter'd his Brother's Lodging, and with the assistance of some with him, set upon his Brother and slew him in his Mother's Arms, before he was able to put himself in any manner of Defence, or cou'd be reliev'd by others. This was the unfortunate End of *Geta*, after a joint and uneasy Reign of one Year and 22 Days; being destroy'd by a Monster who observ'd no Laws but those of his own Lusts.

Geta slain by
Caracalla.

A. D.
212.

Caracalla Sole
Emperor.

IV. *Caracalla* having committed this detestable Murder, with great haste and Precipitation left the Palace, surrounded with his Friends and Servants, and with a great Shew of Amazement cry'd out, *That his Brother wou'd have slain him, that nothing but his Innocence had preserv'd him from the extreamest Danger.* And calling to his Guard, he commanded them to convey him immediately to the *Præto-*

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rian Cohorts, where he might remain in safety ; for while he continu'd in the City, he was in great Danger of his Life. They who heard him, not knowing what had past, believ'd his Words ; and both they and many others follow'd him, all People beginning to be much concern'd to see their Emperor retire in such Confusion and Disorder out of the City. Upon his arrival at the Camp, where, by reason of his former Indulgences, he was better belov'd than his Brother, he immediately ran to the Place where the Ensigns and Banners were fixt, which they always held for things sacred ; and beginning with loud Acclamations, cri'd out, *That he gave infinite Thanks to the Gods for delivering him from so great and imminent a Danger.* The Soldiers gathering about him, amaz'd at this unseasonable Coming, he put himself in the midst of them, and with a loud and pathetick Tone began to implore their Aid and Assistance, telling them, *That his Brother designing to have murder'd him, had assaulted and fought with him ; but the Gods had given him the Victory, though with great Hazard and Difficulty ; and that he was fled to them from the Fury of such as wou'd have slain him.* He spoke with that Artifice and Insinuation that the Soldiers believ'd him ; and though he did not expressly mention his Brother's Death, yet they soon perceiv'd that he had slain his Brother. Therefore the better to secure their Interest, he immediately promis'd to bestow upon them the same Gifts and Rewards that were usually given upon the new Election of an Emperor : And immediately he sent for an infinite Mass of Money, and was so profuse and extravagant in his Distributions, that in one Day he gave to the Soldiers almost all what his Father had been unjustly scraping together for 18 Years. By which

E e

means

means he gain'd the Affections of the Soldiers; and though he met with Opposition from some, yet at length they proclaim'd him Sole Emperor, approv'd of the Death of his Brother *Geta*, and pronounc'd him a Traitor, and an Enemy to the Commonwealth. The next Day *Caracalla* surrounded with Soldiers, remov'd to *Rome*; and assembling the Senate, with his Guard about him, he made a formal Oration, *excusing his own, and condemning his Brother's Practices; affirming that he was openly assaulted by him; and in Defence of himself had unwillingly slain him*; which caus'd the Senators, some out of Favour, and others out of Fear, to approve of his Death, and to justify the Murder. However he gave his Brother an honourable Funeral, buried him in a Stately Monument built by *Severus*, wept as often as he saw his Picture, and heard his Name mention'd; and being told that his Fratricide might in some degree be expiated by calling his Brother a God, he answer'd, *Let him be a God, since he's not alive.*

After this, to second his Wickedness with the greater Cruelty, he proceeded against Men of all Ranks, as though they had been guilty of conspiring against his Person, committing infinite Murders and Barbarities. He commanded all his Brother's Servants to be slain without Mercy, together with many Senators and *Equites*, who were Friends to his Brother; and caus'd his own Wife *Plautina*, and *Pompeianus*, Grandson to *Antoninus Philosophus*, to be put to Death. He caus'd the Head of *Papinian*, the renowned Civilian, to be stricken off, for refusing to write a Vindication of his Brother's Death, and telling of him, *That it was much easier to commit a Parricide than to justify it.* He caus'd all Governors and

Com-

Commanders to be slain which his Brother had plac'd in the Provinces, and likewise the *Vestal* Virgins, and above Two thousand others, who adhered to his Brother's Party. He took a peculiar Delight in all Acts of Cruelty, for that reason alone preferring *Hannibal*, *Sylla*, and *Tiberius* before any other Commanders; and knowing well that he cou'd not make himself more beautiful, he took the Advantage of making himself appear more terrible, and like *Culigula*, affected a cruel and furious Countenance. The People were likewise miserably oppress'd by his Cruelties, and the Insolence of his Soldiers; more particularly at a solemn Time when the Emperor was present at the *Circensian* Games, the People having derided a certain Chariotier whom he favour'd, in a great Rage he commanded his Soldiers to rush in among the Multitude, and kill all who had affronted his Judgment. But it being impossible to find out the Delinquents in so great a Throng, the Soldiers set furiously upon all that stood in their Way, and cut great Numbers in Pieces. So that he began to be hated and abhorr'd by all People but the *Praetorian* Soldiers whom he allow'd and countenanc'd in all kinds of Outrages; and to encourage their Insolencies, and his own prodigious Extravagances, he miserably harass'd and impoverish'd his Subjects in all Parts of the Empire, by his excessive Imposts and Taxes: And he frequently maintain'd, *That Money ought not to be lodg'd in private Hands, but all ought to go to the Exchequer to be distributed among the Soldiers.* When his Mother took the liberty to blame him for his severe Imposts, he like a true Tyrant shew'd her his naked Sword, and repli'd, *As long as I have this, I will never want.* He delighted more in the Companies of Magicians and Jugg-

lers than in Men of Worth ; for perceiving himself hated by the People, he said publickly, *That he cou'd command his own Security though not their Love ; therefore he neither valu'd their Reproaches, nor fear'd their Hatred.*

But afterwards when this Emperor found himself generally detested in the City, he resolv'd to depart from thence, and take a Journey through all the Provinces of the Empire, giving out, *That he went to reform the Legions, and establish the Peace of the Empire.* And taking his Way towards *Germany* and the River *Danube*, there, to win the Hearts of the Country People, he follow'd the Fashions us'd in that Country, Hunted and kill'd wild Beasts, took upon him the *German* Habit, which he prais'd and esteem'd above the *Roman* Drefs, and chose such of the *German* Soldiers as were most strong and active for his Guard. He sought also to gain the Affections of the other Soldiers, by shewing himself very affable and sociable, personally assisting them in their bodily Exercises, eating and drinking with them, and doing many other things like a hardy Man and a Soldier : By which means he became popular in the main ; but cou'd not withhold himself from many Extravagances and Cruelties, putting certain Eminent Men among the *Germans* to Death. Having settled Affairs in *Germany* as he thought fit, he took his Way towards *Thrace*, and enter'd *Macedonia*, where an extravagant piece of Folly possess'd him : For here he pretended to be an exceeding Admirer of *Alexander the Great* ; and to publish his noble Exploits, sent Commandment to erect his Statue in many Parts of *Rome* ; among which he had one set up with two Faces, one resembling *Alexander*, and the other himself. He likewise commanded his Followers to call him by the
Name

Name of *Alexander* and *Antoninus Magnus*; and by the Suggestions of his Flatterers, he was brought to such a fond Conceit, that he continually walk'd like *Alexander* with an awful and threatening Countenance, and like him bent his Head to his Shoulder; and whatsoever he observ'd in the Countenance of *Alexander* he imitated to the Life, and perswaded himself that he had the same Lineaments and Proportions. So that within a few Days, from a *German*, he became a *Macedonian* in Habit, Fashion, and Behaviour; and commanded one Squadron of his Army to be call'd a *Phalanx*, according to the *Macedonian* Custom, and many of his Commanders to be call'd by the Names of those of *Alexander*. Shortly after arriving in the *Lesser Asia*, and the Ruins of *Troy*, viewing the Sepulchre of *Achilles*, he took up with another senseless Humour, which was in all things to resemble *Achilles*. So that in all Countries he travell'd more like a Player than an Emperor, which Levity and Inconstancy caus'd the Laughter and Contempt of some, and the Shame and Indignation of others. And he was so extravagant, that in all Places where he winter'd, or intended to Winter, he caus'd Amphitheatres and Cirques for publick Games, with vast Charge to be erected, and within a short time after to be taken down again.

Travelling in this manner through the *Lesser Asia*, and from thence into *Syria*, he pass'd over into *Egypt*, declaring his Desire to see the City of *Alexandria*, because of its renowned Founder, *Alexander*, though with Design to be reveng'd on the Inhabitants for their Jest and contemptible Names they had given him, conformable to his Person and Vices. At his Arrival he was solemnly re-

ceiv'd, and with great Joy, and he himself shew'd great Favours to the Inhabitants; but soon after assembling them to see some publick Games, he caus'd them to be suddenly surrounded by his Soldiers; and infinite Numbers of all Ages, Ranks, and Degrees, were cut in Pieces, to the incredible Astonishment and Terror of the whole City and Country. After this barbarous Inhumanity at *Alexandria*, he return'd through *Palestine* into *Syria*; and being desirous to signalize himself by some memorable Exploit, he sent an Embassy to *Antabanus*, King of *Parthia*, to desire his Daughter in Marriage, declaring, That he was coming to Solemnize the Nuptials; and that King being perswaded to meet the Emperor with a splendid Concourse of unarm'd Soldiers and People, he suddenly set upon them with his Army, and made a most terrible Slaughter, *Antabanus* himself with great Difficulty escaping. Gaining by this Exploit much Booty, and as he thought, much Glory, he writ long and boasting Letters to the Senate, assuming the Title of *Parthicus* for this piece of Treachery, as he had before that of *Germanicus*, for killing some of the *German* Nobility. He seem'd now to regard neither true Honour nor Virtue, but give himself up to all kinds of Luxury and Extravagancy, and proceed so far, as to attempt his Mother-in-Law, *Julia*. For one Day seeing her by chance, or rather purposely, he took off her Veil, which discover'd her naked Breasts and Beauty, which was great; he with a wanton Look told her, That were it lawful, he would possess that Beauty he saw. To whom she made Answer without any shew of Decency or Modesty, That all things were lawful to Him, who made Laws for others, and was subject to none. Whereupon setting aside all Duty and

and Respect to his dead Father and Brother, he resolv'd to Marry her, and accordingly celebrated the Nuptials in publick, shortly after, with the Mother of his Brother, whom he had before murder'd.

Caracalla
marries his
Mother-in-
Law, *Julia*.

After this, *Caracalla* enjoy'd but little Rest and Quiet in his Thoughts, being tormented with infinite Jealousies and Suspicions of Conspiracies; and dealing much with Magicians and Astrologers, he sent from *Mesopotamia* to *Maternianus*, his great Confident in *Rome*, and Governor of the City, secretly to assemble the best Astrologers, and demand of them what Death he was to expect, and likewise to know of them whether any at present conspir'd or practis'd his Death. These Commands were speedily perform'd by *Maternianus*, who writing to the Emperor, either by the Advice of the Astrologers, or his own Suggestions, told him, That *Macrinus*, who was now one of his Principal Commanders with him in *Mesopotamia*, had a Design against his Life, therefore the Astrologers advis'd him immediately to dispatch Him: Which Letter was sent seal'd and made up among others, to be convey'd with the greater Secrecy. The whole Packet was deliver'd to the Emperor as he was entering his Chariot, in order to a publick Race with others; and not being willing to be interrupted, gave his Letters to *Macrinus* to read over, and to give him an Account of the Contents afterwards. *Macrinus* perusing the Letters, met with that which aim'd at his Destruction; wherefore finding his own Danger, he reserv'd that Letter to himself, and acquainted the Emperor with the rest. But not doubting but *Maternianus* wou'd write again upon the same Subject, he resolv'd to secure himself by the Emperor's Destruction: And fixing upon

The Death
of Caracalla,

one *Martial*, a stout and strong Centurion of the Guards, who hated the Emperor for his Brother's Death, and his own Disgrace, he persuaded him to revenge his Brother's Murder by the Tyrant's Death, which he might easily effect, being continually so nigh his Person; promising him not only Protection, but likewise great Promotion after the Fact. *Martial* readily agreed to his Proposals; and a few Days after *Caracalla* coming from a Temple near a City, call'd *Carras*, and riding with a small Retinue towards the City, withdrew himself privately to disburden Nature, with only one Page to hold his Horse. *Martial* perceiving this fair Opportunity, and pretending that the Emperor call'd him, ran hastily to him, and stabb'd him behind, so that he died immediately. Though *Spartian* tells us, That he did it while he pretended to help the Emperor to his Horse. After which he unconcern'dly return'd to his own Horse, and by little and little retir'd from his Company; but his Flight being perceiv'd, and the Emperor's Death related by the Page, he was persu'd by the German Horse, and hew'n in Pieces.

This was the deserved Death of *Bassianus Caracalla*, the Twenty second Emperor of *Rome*, in the 29th Year of his Age; after an odious Reign of about six Years, above one with his Brother *Geta*, and five by himself; who by his execrable Vices and monstrous Enormities, made himself detested by all Mankind, except his Soldiers, who for their own Sakes preserv'd him for a while in his Throne, and at last brought him to a violent and unnatural Death, which Tyrants seldom or never escape; which shews there is no security in unjust Force and Authority. After the Death of this Monster, it appear'd, That he had procur'd

cur'd as much Poyson from the Inhabitantes of the *Upper Asia*, as cost him 220000 Crowns, that he might Poyson as many ways as he pleas'd. In all things he most resembled *Caligula*, and likewise in his Death, which was the greater Punishment and Judgment from Heaven, by being follow'd by that of his infamous Wife and Mother-in-Law, *Julia*, who being at *Antioch*, upon the News of his Death, in a great Rage and Despair poyson'd her self, and so ended her impious Life. *Caracalla* died in the 970th Year of the City, 241 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 217 after our Saviour's Nativity, 121 after the last of the Twelve *Cæsars*, and 24 of the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

and of *Julia*,

V. The sudden Death of *Caracalla* caus'd some Tumults and Confusion among the Soldiers; and not knowing whom to condemn for this Murder, they gather'd about the Body; and the first that came to have assisted the Emperor was *Macrinus*, who by his Tears and Lamentations prevented all Suspicion: For all People conceiv'd that *Martial* had committed this Murder solely out of private Passion and Revenge. Soon after the Army proceeded to an Election of a new Emperor; for they had no Respect to young *Bassianus* or *Heliogabalus*, whom *Caracalla* is said to have had by a Concubine, call'd *Soæmis* or *Semiamira*, Neece to *Julia*, both by Reason of his Youth, and the loose Carriage of his Mother, which made all People doubt whether he was the Son of *Caracalla* or no. For two Days the Soldiers were in suspence, whether they shou'd fix upon *Audentius* or *Macrinus*; but knowing the former to be eminent for his Wisdom and Discretion,

A. D.
217.

cretion, and likewise his Experience in War, they at length chose him. But *Audentius* wisely considering the numerous Perils and Disorders in the Empire, refus'd to accept of it; alledging his Age, and his Inabilities of governing the Empire as he ought; whereupon they immediately chose *Macrinus*, who readily accepted of it, and making a flattering Oration to the Soldiers, he distributed great Quantities of Money among them to purchase their Favour and Fidelity. He also nominated his Son *Diadumenus* for his Companion and Equal in the Empire, to whom he gave the Name of *Antoninus*, both to take away the Suspicion of the Murder of *Caracalla*, who was call'd *Antoninus*, and because that Name was highly acceptable to the Romans, upon the Account of the excellent Reigns of *Antoninus Pius* and *Antoninus Philosophus*. He likewise wrote long Letters to the Senate and People of Rome, reciting the Manner of his Election, and desiring their Approbation of it, using likewise many Solemn Oaths, That he was not guilty of the Death of *Caracalla*. The Senate being certifi'd of the Death of *Caracalla*, without much consideration of the Deserts of *Macrinus*, confirm'd the Election; and likewise that of his Son and Companion, *Diadumenus*. *Opilius Macrinus* at his Entrance upon the Empire, was about 53 Years of Age, being of an obscure Parentage, some say a Moor by Birth, who with small Deserts, and by way of Favour, attain'd to the Office of *Prætorian* Prefect, and now by Treason and Chance arriv'd at the Empire.

Shortly after his Election he reciev'd Intelligence, That *Artabanus*, King of *Parthia*, was coming down with a mighty Power to be reveng'd of the Injury and Barbarity of *Caracalla*, knowing nothing of his Death. This caus'd Ma-

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Macrinus, and
his Son *Diadumenus*,
made Empe-
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crinus and *Diadumenus* to use all possible Expedition to stop the Progress of the *Parthians*, who came very strong both in Horse and Foot, and brought many Camels with them. In a short time the two Armies met, and came to a most bloody Battle, which continu'd two several Days, wherein both *Romans* and *Parthians* fought so obstinately, that at both times the Night only parted the Contest, and either Party cri'd, *Victory, Victory!* though both were miserably harass'd and slaughter'd, without any apparent Difference or Advantage. *Macrinus* well-knowing that *Artabanus* came highly inrag'd with *Caracalla* in particular, sent him Heralds and Ambassadors, certifying him of his Death before the Battle; And if he desir'd the Amity and Alliance of the *Romans*, he was ready to grant it. *Artabanus* understanding that his great Enemy was dead, of which he had no Intelligence till then, readily embrac'd his Proposals of Peace and Amity, upon Condition that all such Prisoners as were taken by the Treachery of *Caracalla* shou'd be immediately restor'd, which was accordingly perform'd, and a Peace concluded; *Artabanus* returning home to *Parthia*, and the two Emperors to *Antioch* in *Syria*.

Being at *Antioch*, *Macrinus* principally follow'd the Pleasures of the Place, neglecting the Government of the Empire, delaying his Journey to *Rome*, though he was often solicited by Letters from thence to come to the City; And in this he committed a great Error; for his staying at *Antioch* was the first Step to his Ruin, where neglecting his principal Concerns, he gave himself up to Riot and Luxury. Whereupon the *Roman* Soldiers, being desirous of returning to the City, began to murmur and repine at his Delays, and Way of Living, and likewise to contemn and de-

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spise him. But that which caus'd the Soldiers greatest Hatred, was his extreme Severity in punishing them, which in these licentious Times was insupportable; especially to those who made and destroy'd Emperors as they pleas'd. His Severity was such, that instead of *Macrinus*, he was by his own Servants term'd *Macellinus*, as much as to say Butcher; because he made his House as it were a Shamble of murder'd Men. He was likewise nam'd *Mezentius*, because, like him, he sometimes join'd living Bodies to Dead. He commanded two Soldiers, who had ravish'd their Hostess's Maid, to be sew'd up in the Bellies of two great Oxen, with their Heads only left out, that they might have Liberty to speak to each other. He caus'd those Soldiers who committed Adultery to be ty'd to their Female Criminals, and burnt them alive; though we are told that his Wife *Nonia Celsa* was insatiable that Way. He was wont to say, *That he was very mild and merciful, when in a Mutiny he punish'd but one Soldier in a hundred with Death; whereas he thought they deserv'd to be decimated, or at least one in twenty to suffer.* We are likewise inform'd, that he punish'd some by shutting them up in ceiled Walls, where they dy'd miserably. These Severities made the most of the Soldiers abhor him; and the sense of Loyalty being long forgotten, they grew more and more audacious, and began openly to tax the Proceedings and Actions of the Emperor, and to wish his Death, and likewise to practise it, within a Year after they had given him the Empire.

But that which the most of all promoted the Ruin and Downfal of *Macrinus* was the Contrivances and Artifices of *Mæsa*, Sister to the late Emperess *Julia*, a Woman of great Subtilty and Policy,

Policy, who ever since the Death of *Caracalla* continu'd in a City of *Phœnicia* call'd *Emesa*, not far distant from *Antioch*, and *Macrinus's* Army. This Woman had two Daughters, *Semiamira* and *Mammaea*: The former had a Son nam'd *Bassianus*, fourteen Years of Age; and the latter another call'd *Alexianus*, two Years younger. All these were then with *Mæsa* at *Emesa*, in which City she made both her Grandsons Priests of a magnificent Temple, formerly erected to the Memory of *Faustina*, Emperess to *Antoninus Philosophus*, and now dedicated to the Sun. *Bassianus* the Eldest was particularly call'd *Heliogabalus*, which in the *Phœnician* Language signify'd, *A Priest of the Sun*; and by reason of his great Beauty was much admir'd by the *Roman* Soldiers. This was soon perceiv'd by *Mæsa*, who being very rich in Gold and Jewels by means of her great Bribes and Gratuities in former Reigns, gave many Gifts and Presents to the *Roman* Soldiers who frequently repair'd to this Temple, both from the Garison in the City, and from the Camp of *Macrinus*. She often shew'd them her Grandson *Heliogabalus*, and as often told them, *That both He and his Cozen or Brother Alexianus were begotten by Caracalla, whom Macrinus had slain by Treason*; which they believing, several by Sight, and others by Report, began to affect him, and to desire him for their Emperor. On the contrary, *Macrinus* being generally hated by the Soldiers, some Colonels and Captains near *Emesa*, mov'd by the large Presents and Promises of *Mæsa*, the greatest Part agreed, *That she shou'd send Heliogabalus into their particular Camp, and they wou'd proclaim him Emperor*. Whereupon this subtle Projectress, being well acquainted with Emperors Courts, immediately took her Grandson by the Hand,

Heliogabalus
sets up for
Emperor.

Hand, and went with him to the Camp, where he was immediately receiv'd Emperor : Though *Capitolinus* tells us, that certain of *Macrinus's* Legions being in a Mutiny, went first to seek *Heliogabalus*. This Matter being publish'd abroad, the Report of it caus'd great Alterations in Men's Minds ; and all Men began to affect *Heliogabalus*, as being both Son and Grandson to an Emperor, and for having the Name of *Antoninus* ; which they accounted both sacred and fortunate. But *Macrinus* shew'd little Concern, contemning that Faction which was rais'd only by a Woman and a Boy, judging it sufficient to send an Officer call'd *Julian*, with certain Legions, to besiege and destroy them ; which might have been easily effected, had he gon in Person. The Forces of *Heliogabalus* were insufficient to give Battel to *Julian* ; but remaining in their Camp well fortify'd and provided, they suffer'd themselves to be invested : But the Soldiers of both Parties often conferring together, those in the Camp shewing young *Heliogabalus* to the other, put them in mind of his Father's Munificence to them, and *Macrinus's* Severities, perswaded them to follow him : Which prov'd so effectual, that they immediately cut off the Commander *Julian's* Head, and went over to *Heliogabalus*.

The News of the Revolt was a Thunder-clap to *Macrinus*, who immediately with his Son was oblig'd to forsake the Pleasures of *Antioch*, and with his whole Force and Power to march against *Heliogabalus*. In the Confines of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* both Parties join'd Battel, in which Fear and Despair caus'd the Soldiers of *Heliogabalus* to fight furiously and obstinately ; but of *Macrinus's* Side only the *Prætorian* Soldiers perform'd their Duty, the rest were remiss and negligent ; and
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a considerable Part abandoning him, went over to the contrary side: Whereupon *Macrinus* accounting himself lost and destitute, fled from the Battel, and *Heliogabalus* gain'd the Victory. He and his Son, with some Choice Friends, travell'd with the utmost Expedition and Privacy through the Provinces of the Lesser *Asia*, and enter'd *Bithynia*, with a Determination to get to *Rome* as soon as possibly he cou'd, where he knew his Arrival was much desired. But unfortunately falling sick in the City of *Chalcedon*, he was overtaken by those whom *Heliogabalus* had sent to pursue him; who shewing their Letters and Commands to the City, and declaring the Victory to *Heliogabalus*, were obey'd; and *Macrinus* lying sick, void of all Favour and Friendship, together with his Son, was there put to Death. Thus unfortunate were *Macrinus* and *Diadumenus*, the Father and Son, who together made the Twenty third Emperor of *Rome*, having reign'd but one Year and two Months: All which was occasion'd by the Negligence and Remissness, as much as Severity and Cruelty of *Macrinus*; who notwithstanding he had the Reputation of a nice and experienced Emperor, was overthrown and depriv'd both of his Life and Empire, only by an old Woman and a Child. This hapned in the 971 Year of the City, 218th after our Saviour's Nativity, and 25th after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

VI. Immediately after the Death of *Macrinus* and his Son, *Heliogabalus*, by the Advice of his Grandmother *Mesa*, wrote to *Rome* in the most obliging and fawning manner imaginable; which was notwithstanding ill digested by the Senate and People of *Rome*, who much more desir'd the Govern-

The Over-
throws

And Deaths
of *Macrinus*
and *Diadume-
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Heliogabalus
made Empe-
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Government of *Macrinus*. But finding they were unable to resist such a powerful Party, they yielded Obedience to *Heliogabalus*; of whom they conceiv'd some Hopes from his good Form and Constitution of Body, and the Name of *Antoninus*, which in *Rome* was highly esteemed and respected. By reason of his Youth all things were now order'd by the Counsel and Directions of *Mæsa* and her Favourites; who settling the Affairs of the *East*, hastned towards *Rome* with the Young Emperor; but being constrained to tarry in *Bithynia*, he there by several Instances manifested his scandalous and irreclaimable Life. He was but fourteen Years of Age when he was elected; and as he was the Youngest, so he was the most profligate Emperor that *Rome* ever saw. This Monster had more Names than *Hydra* had Heads; for while he was a private Person he was call'd *Varius*, from one of his reputed Fathers a *Syrian*; next *Avitus* and *Lupus*, from his Grandfather by his Mother's side. He was also nam'd *Assyrius*, from a barbarous Habit he then wore like some of the *Assyrian* Priests; and likewise *Heliogabalus*, for being a *Priest of the Sun*, as was formerly mention'd. As soon as he pass'd for *Caracalla's* Natural Son, to gain the Affections of the Soldiers he was call'd *Bassianus*; as he was soon after call'd *Antoninus* to please the Senate and People of *Rome*; which Name he so much dishonour'd, that he was call'd *Pseudo-Antoninus*, and the *Roman Sardanapalus*; and lastly *Tiberinus* and *Tractitius*, from the manner of his Death. His Life is one continu'd and amazing Instance of the most superlative Effeminacy, and the most unaccountable Extravagancy; and it cannot be determin'd, which was most notorious, his stupendious Leachery, his boundless Prodigality, or his fantastical Foolery. Of these, and

and only these, have Writers treated; which as they cannot be omitted without leaving out the whole Reign, so they cannot be related with the Method and Majesty of an *Historian*, or scarcely with the Decency and Decorum of a *Biographer*. Therefore I hope the Reader will excuse my complying with the Meanness and Baseness of my Subject and Materials, and my handling that Trash and Dirt which I cou'd not avoid without a total Silence.

Being solemnly receiv'd at *Rome*, the first thing he undertook was the building of a Magnificent Temple in the Suburbs to the *Sun*, his God; into which every Year with great Solemnity he brought him, preferring him before *Jupiter*, and made an Edict that the *Romans* shou'd pay a greater Veneration to the new God *Heliogabalus*, than to any other, who, he said, *were all Servants to his God*; therefore he plunder'd other Temples to enrich his own, and endeavour'd to hinder the worshipping of all other Gods but his. Then, that his God might not be destitute of a Partner and Companion, he marry'd him to the ancient Image of *Pallas*, which for many Ages had been kept up with great Devotion; but this Match displeasing him, in a short time, he declar'd, *That his God could not love so Martial a Wife*, and therefore divorc'd his first Wife, and marry'd him to *Urania*, saying, *It was much more proper to marry the Sun and the Moon together*. And for a Portion he gave all the Treasure in the Temple of *Urania* to his God; and commanded all the People of *Rome* and *Italy* to make solemn and publick Feasts for Joy of this fortunate Match. Nor was he less fickle in relation to his own Wives; for he had six in the short Time of his Reign: The first was *Annia Faustina*, of the Li-

nage of *Commodus*, for the Enjoyment of whom he caus'd her Husband *Bassus* to be put to Death, not permitting her to weep for him. Divorcing her, he married *Cornelia Paula*, an illustrious Lady, to make himself a Father betimes, as he said; yet soon after, only upon Pretence of having a Spot in her Body, he put her away, and divested her of all Honours. After this pretending to be in Love, he forc'd *Aquilia Severa*, one of the *Vestal* Virgins, from her Solitude, and marry'd her; which by the *Romans* was accounted a Crime of the highest Nature. Understanding the Senate were displeased at this Sacrilegious Act, he wrote to the Fathers, affirming, *She was a fit Match for a Priest; and that from Him and the chief Priests of Vesta, there might spring a Generation worthy of the immortal Gods.* Yet he soon after divorc'd this Wife, to espouse another, and likewise two more, whose Names are unknown; it being hard to determine, whether he was more blameable for his frequent and Illegal Marriages, or his sudden and Causeless Divorces. And at length, being possess'd with a continual Inconstancy, he return'd to his Priestess *Aquilia Severa*. Nor did he rest here, but he took upon him the Quality of a Woman, and marry'd himself to Men, first to *Aurelius Zoticus*, one of his Officers; and after that to *Hierocles* his Slave, whom he suffer'd to beat him severely when he was guilty of any Excess; all which he bore with great Patience and Duty, saying, *That a Wife was oblig'd to suffer every thing from her own Husband.*

He was of a Temper so effeminate, and such an Admirer of Women, that the first time he enter'd the Senate-House he carry'd his infamous Mother *Semiamira* along with him, and took Order that her Opinion shou'd in all Cases be particularly

ticularly demanded ; and from that time forward she shou'd be present when all Matters of Importance were determin'd, and vote as the Fathers did : A thing which was wholly unknown, and ridiculous to all People. He likewise built a Senate-House apart on Mount *Quirinale*, on purpose for Women, with suitable Orders, Habits, and Places ; of whom his Mother was made President : And their Decrees and Consultations were generally concerning the Dresses and Apparel of the *Roman* Matrons, their Places and Dignities, their Carriages and Behaviour, their Visits and Ceremonies, and an infinite Number of Matters of the like Nature. After this he proceeded to more infamous Practices, and commanded publick Stews to be made in his Palace, for the Convenience of his Friends and Favourites ; and redeem'd most of the common Prostitutes in the City that were Slaves, and gave them their Freedom. And delighting much in the Company of such scandalous Persons, at an appointed Time he commanded all the Women that cou'd be found of that Name and Conversation, to be assembled together ; where He himself, clad in Woman's Apparel, came in the midst of them, and made a formal Oration to them, particularly calling them *Commilitones*, or *Fellow-Soldiers* ; a Word then only us'd by Commanders to their Soldiers when they design'd them Honour, by calling them *Their Companions in Arms*. The Matters of which they treated and consulted, were detestable Inventions and Means for their Libidinous Exercises ; and to make the Assembly more compleat, he brought with him Ruffians and Bawds, who were his Brokers in those detestable Actions and Meetings. I forbear to anatomize this Monster of Impurity, and to lay open the Variety of

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his prodigious Lusts and Incentives : I shall only add, That he was a Man for all Women, and a Woman for all Men ; and that the Devil in the Shape of an Hermophradite was not able to act greater Lewdness than he.

As to the Prodigality of this Emperor, he made it his Care and Study to invent Means of spending excessively, and to find out such Delicacies and Rarities as had never been thought of. He never sat but among sweet-smelling Flowers, mix'd with Amber, Musk, and other exquisite Odors ; nor wou'd he eat any thing but what was of an excessive Price, and sought means to make all his Meats exceeding costly, being wont to say, *That that Meat was wholly insipid that was not dear bought.* He attired himself in Cloth of Gold and Purple, beset with Pearls and precious Stones ; and even upon his Shoes he wore Stones of inestimable Value and Curiosity. His Palace, his Chambers, and his Beds were all furnish'd with Cloth of Gold, Silver and Silk, cover'd with Roses and sweet Flowers, among which were strew'd many Jewels and Pearls ; and whenever he took Horse or Chariot for a Journey, all the Way between his Chamber and the Place of Mounting, was cover'd with the Powder of Gold and Silver, he disdaining to tread upon the Earth as other Men did. All his Tables, Chests, Chairs, and Vessels of Service for his Chamber, even to those of the basest and meanest Offices, were all of pure Gold ; and his Pallets and Couches, which he often chang'd, were all stuff'd with the Down growing under the Wings of Partridges. He despis'd all Wax Lights, but had his Hall and Chambers fill'd with large Lamps, which instead of Oyl consum'd most excellent Balsam, brought from *Arabia* and *India* ; and even his Urinals

nals were made of Onyx, and other precious Materials. Notwithstanding his Clothes were so rich and costly, he never wore one Sute twice; and though his Fingers were continually fill'd with Rings, those he once pull'd off, were never us'd after by him; as likewise his Plate of Gold and Silver, when he drunk a Cup, he always gave it away to him that serv'd him that Day: And his Baths, after once bathing, were always pull'd down, and new built, and new furnish'd with most valuable Perfumes and Odors. He fill'd his Fish-Ponds with Water distill'd from Roses, and made his Ships in the *Numachius* to float in Rivers of Wine. In his Meals he was proportionably expensive and luxurious; and that Supper which was of least Charge commonly amounted to 6000 Crowns; and several which he made cost 60000 Crowns. Sometimes he promis'd to give his Guests a Phoenix to eat; and because the Performance was impracticable, he generally gave them a great Quantity of Gold for it. Whenever he travell'd, which he often did for his Recreation, he was always accompany'd with six hundred Chariots and Horse-Litters, with a great Number of Prostitutes of both Sexes, which were sometimes insufficient, since he never lay'd with any Person but once, except he was marry'd to the Party. In his Travels, when he was near the Sea, he never eat any Fish, but fed upon Land-Fowl, and such Flesh as was brought many Miles; and when he was far distant from the Sea, he eat nothing but Fish, which by Posts and particular Messengers were brought alive to make them the more chargeable. And for the same Reason he fed much upon uncommon and unusual Meats, imitating *Apicius* in eating the Combs of Cocks, the Tongues of Pheasants and

Nightingals, the Spauns of Mulletts, the Eggs of Partridges, the Heads of Parrots and Peacocks, and the Brains of Thrushes and Phœnicopters. He fed his Dogs with Geese-Livers, his Horses with Grapes, and his Lyons and Wild-Beasts with Pheasants and delicate Birds. If he was by the Sea-side he accounted it an Instance of Greatness of Mind to sink such Shipping he found there loaden with Merchandize, afterwards paying the Proprietors both for Ships and Goods. Being reprov'd by a Friend for this strange Prodigality, who ask'd him, *Whether he did not fear Want hereafter?* he made Answer, *Can any thing be better for a Man than to be Heir to himself?* And further said; *That he desir'd no Heirs, because their Ambition of Government would make them conspire his Death.*

This Emperor was so boundless in his Prodigality that he devour'd all the Revenues of Italy, Spain, Gaul, Britain, Germany, Dacia, Illyrium, Greece, Africk, Asia, Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, with many other Provinces and Islands; and all was insufficient for his infinite Expences. He made certain publick Feasts in Rome, which were the richest and most sumptuous that ever were known in that City; and he made vast Distributions among the Soldiers and Citizens, of Corn, Money, Plate, Gold and Jewels; which was the only Thing which made him supportable in the City; as likewise the continual Endeavours of his Grandmother *Mesa* to reform his riotous and voluptuous Life, and to procure good Order in the Government. But notwithstanding all her Care and Industry, the Provinces were miserably harrass'd and oppress'd; and many Barbarous Nations invaded the Frontiers of the Empire. For *Heliogabalus* gave all Offices and Places of Trust to the most impious

impious Wretches, and his chiefest Companions in his Lewdnesses; and depriv'd all good and virtuous Men of their Charges, sent some into Exile, and took away the Lives of others who endeavour'd to reform his Enormities. He conferr'd Honours on the most vile and sordid Persons, made Consuls of the Sons of Slaves; and on the contrary put great Persons upon the basest Employments, causing the Entrails of the Sacrifices to be born by Generals of Armies, and highest Officers of State. In these and many other things he seem'd to invert the very Order of Nature, and proceeded so far in his fantastical Irregularities, that he commanded all the Business of the Day to be dispatcht by Night, and that of the Night by Day; and accordingly he himself arose from his Bed at Sun-setting, being saluted as other Emperors were in the Morning, and went to his Rest at the Rising of the Sun. His actions were often so inconsistent as to their Nature, and so despicable as to his Quality, that in reciting of them we can scarcely observe a just Order or Decorum. He drove Chariots drawn by Elephants in the *Vatican*, levelling the Tombs which stood in his Way; He was also drawn by four Camels in the *Circus Maximus*, by four Mastive-Dogs in his Palace, and by four Stags in publick Places: Sometimes he was drawn by Lyons, naming himself *Magna Mater*; also by Tygers, being in the Shape of *Bacchus*, whom by his excessive Drinking he much resembled; and other times he was drawn by four naked Women, and he himself naked at the same time. He was so extravagantly freakish, that he caused a Collection to be made of Ten thousand Pound Weight of Spiders, for which he gave a great Reward, declaring, *That now he had made an Estimate of the Magnitude*

of the City; and at another time he caus'd to be gather'd Ten thousand Mice, a thousand Rats, a thousand Weazels, and as many Pole-Cats, which he exhibited in a publick Show to the People, for some wise State Policy like the former. His Gifts and Rewards which he gave to his Guests at Suppers, and to the Players upon the Stage, were very numerous and extravagant, and as often despicable and ridiculous: He gave away Eunuchs, Carts, harness'd Horses, Mules, Litters and Chariots, with vast Quantities of Gold and Silver; and sometimes his Lots were so order'd, that one Man shou'd have Ten Camels, another Ten Flies, another Ten Pounds Weight of Gold, another as much of Lead, another Ten Ostriches, and another Ten Eggs. To the Players in one Lot were Ten Bears, Ten Crickets, Ten Lettices, and Ten Pound Weight of Gold; and he likewise gave dead Dogs, Bull's Flesh, and Purfes of Brass for Gifts and Rewards, rendring himself contemptible and ridiculous to all People. He generally convers'd and kept Company with the vilest Persons, with whom he diverted himself many Ways; particularly he caus'd them to sit down with him at Supper upon large Bellows, which being swell'd and distended wou'd suddenly tumble them under the Table. He ty'd his Parasites to a Wheel, and turn'd them round in Water, calling them, *His Ixionian Friends*; and also thrust them into Chambers with deceitful Floors, which threw them down and smother'd them in Rooms fill'd with Roses, that they might meet with Deaths suitable to their Lives. He tantaliz'd them with Mock-Feasts in Wax, Wood, Ivory, Marble, and Glass; and sometimes the Dishes which were provided for him were exactly woven upon their Napkins, or painted

painted upon their Tables, without having any Advantage from them. At the second and third Course he caus'd Bears, Pardals, Lyons and Leopards, which wanted their Teeth and their Claws, to be suddenly let loose among them; though sometimes he made them drink before he terrifi'd them with these disarm'd Beasts. Understanding that the Citizens one Day had taken up their Places before Day in the Theatre to behold the Sports, he caus'd Serpents to be thrown among them, whereby many were grievously bit and hurt by Flight: And after that proceeded to greater Mischiefs; for being addicted to Divination by Inspection of the Bowels of Young Men Sacrific'd, he chose many fair Gentlemen throughout all *Italy*, whose Parents were living, that their Sorrow might be the greater.

I must not trace this vile Emperor in his more private Vices and Follies, which were so filthy and contemptible; that they ought not to be nam'd or remember'd: What I have unwillingly recited were generally publick, which render'd him so odious and despicable, both to the Citizens and Soldiers, that he was often in Danger of his Life. His Grandmother *Mæsa* perceiving this, by her Artifices and Pretences of freeing him from the Cares and Troubles of publick Business, gain'd such an Ascendent over him, as to persuade him to adopt his Cozen-German *Alexianus*, to make him *Cæsar* and his Successor, and likewise Consul with him, calling his Name *Alexander Severus*, the former from the King of *Macedon*, and the latter from the Emperor his reputed Grandfather: And at the same time the Senate, according to his Command, ridiculously voted *Alexander* real Son to *Heliogabalus*, who was

was but two years younger than his Father. Having thus got a Son, he endeavour'd all Ways to draw him over to his lewd Courses; but this Excellent and Worthy Youth detested his Enormities, spent his Time in Learning, and the Conversation of Persons of the greatest Merit both in Arts and Arms, having the greatest and wisest Masters in the Empire for his Instructors. This daily increas'd the Love of all Men towards him, and their Hatred to the other, who now repenting that he had rais'd him to such a Height, expell'd his Tutors from the Court, and put the Chief of them to Death, ridiculously alledging, *That these Pedants spoil'd his Son, who instead of Dancing and Revelling, taught him Modesty and Martial Exercises.* He likewise sought means to destroy him, or at least to deprive him of the Name of his *Cæsar* and his Successor; but his Policy not being equal to his Wickedness, he was prevented by the Care of *Mæsa*, and the Resolutions of the *Prætorian* Soldiers, who highly affected this Young Prince; and while *Heliogabalus* was walking in a Garden, they endeavour'd to have slain him upon his Account; but he escap'd by hiding himself in a secret Place. By the Persuasion of *Antiochienus* their Præfect, the Soldiers returned to their Camp, where remaining in a mutinous manner, they requir'd, *That the Emperor shou'd remove certain vile and impious Persons, who were very familiar with him, and miserably oppress'd the Subjects by the exorbitant Bribes and Sales of Offices.* And for the Security of the Persons and Morals of Young *Alexander*, they requir'd, *That a select Body of their Cohorts might be his particular Guard; and that none of the Emperor's Favourites and Familiars shou'd ever converse with him.* All which was immediately put in
 Exe-

Execution, and the Soldiers reduc'd to their former Duties.

His daily Endeavours to supplant his Cozen Alexander hastned his Ruin ; and being foretold by the Syrian Priests, *That he should Die a violent Death*, he built a lofty Tower stored with Gold and Pearl, whence he might throw himself down, prepared Cords of Crimson, Silk, and Gold, to strangle himself, Golden Swords and Daggers to stab himself, and rich Poyson kept in Boxes of *Emeralds* and *Jacynth*, that he might chuse a Death according to his Humour ; declaring, *That his Death should be more Glorious and Magnificent than any before him*. But he soon after fail'd of his Hopes, though not of his Deserts : For having unsuccessfully endeavour'd to poyson Alexander, to found the Soldiers he reported that he was dead, which immediately rais'd a Mutiny among them. To appease which, he immediately took Him along with him in a Chariot beautified with Pearl and Gold, to the Camp ; where the Soldiers Acclamations were solely directed to Alexander, and no Respect shewn to the other ; which so enrag'd Heliogabalus, that he threatned the severest Punishments to those who applauded his Cozen. But the Soldiers taking this Advantage, at his Return follow'd him to his Palace, pursu'd him into a Privy, whither he had fled, from whence they hawl'd him, and threw him into a nasty Sink, and then dragg'd him through the Streets of Rome like the Carcass of a Dog, with this Military Acclamation, *The Whelp of an untamed and ravening Lust !* At last when they found the Bulk of his pamper'd Body too large to enter the hollow Seat of a Privy, which they design'd for its last Funeral Ceremony, they threw it into the *Tiber*, with heavy Weights ty'd to it, that

The Death of
Heliogabalus,

that none might ever find it and give it the Honour of Burial. This was the miserable and ignominious Death of *Heliogabalus* the Twenty fourth Emperor of *Rome*; but in the Eighteenth Year of his Age, after a detestable Reign of about four Years; a Prince so vile and abominable as is beneath all further Censure or Notice. The Judgment from Heaven appear'd the greater, from the Senate's and Peoples Approbation of this Death, and their making a Decree, *That from henceforward no Emperor of Rome shou'd be call'd by the Name of Antoninus*; which was a Name held in so much Veneration, that all the Emperors since *Antoninus Philosophus* had taken upon them. His wicked Mother likewise receiv'd her Reward from Heaven, being slain by the Soldiers at the same time, who thrust Stakes through the Fundaments of several of his lewd Companions, that their Deaths might be conformable to their Lives. This hapned *U. C. 915. A. D. 222.* and of the publick Sale of the Empire, 29.

And of his
Mother Se-
miamira.

A. D.
222.

Alexander
made Empe-
ror.

VII. After the dark Clouds and Miseries of the late Reigns, the State of *Rome* began to have some Breathing by means of young *Alexander*, who immediately after the Death of *Heliogabalus*, by the universal Consent of the Senate and People, as well as the Soldiers, was sworn and obey'd as Emperor of *Rome*. The Senate offer'd to confer upon him many honourable Epithets and Surnames; but he modestly declin'd them, saying openly in the House, *That he never delighted to assume what belonged to others, and that he found himself overladen with their Favours; for these lofty Titles of Honour were too burdensome for him.* *Alexander*, formerly call'd *Alexianus*, was now about
16 years

16 years of Age, being Son to *Mammæa*, Sister to *Semiamira*, a Lady of great Virtues and Accomplishments; and his Father's Name was *Varius*, born in *Syria*, in a City call'd *Aversa*. He was a great Lover and Encourager of Learning; and having the greatest Men for his Masters and Tutors, he was skilful in all the liberal Sciences: Particularly he was an excellent Mathematician, Geometrician, and Musician; he cou'd Paint and Carve to a great Perfection, and likewise sing and play upon many Instruments, which after he was Emperor he never did but in private. He was likewise remarkable for his Poetry, and so considerable for the Solidity of his Parts and Judgment, that at his beginning to act he rather seem'd a wise old Man than a Youth; so that the Joy of the Senate and People was inexpressible for this happy Election. Beginning his Reign with the real Affections of all Men, he by the Advice of his wise Mother, chose the Worthiest and most Experienc'd Men that were to be found for his Counsellors; and he neither acted nor decreed any thing without their Opinion, notwithstanding he was so remarkably judicious and sagacious that scarce any Man cou'd deceive him. Among these the principal were *Ulpian*, the famous Lawyer, and *Sabinus*, who was call'd the *Cato* of his Time, and several others of that Profession, all Scholars of the great *Papinian*; by reason of which, his Government and Administration was highly applauded and extoll'd, there being a sudden Change and Alteration in all things: For in the Three last Reigns the most insupportable Insolencies and Disorders were publickly committed, and tolerated by the Governors. Wherefore,

The

The first thing that this Emperor set about, was to reform all the Officers and Servants in his own Palace, displacing and discharging all those lewd and scandalous Persons whom *Helio-gabalus* had establish'd there; nor wou'd he admit any Man to any Office or Place in the Palace, that was not of a good Behaviour and Reputation, likewise prohibiting all infamous Persons to speak to his Wife or Mother by way of Salutation. He us'd the like Methods to the Judges which *Helio-gabalus* had made; and also in the *Senatorian* and *Equestrian* Ranks, restor'd to their Offices and Dignities all such as had been unjustly depriv'd. He observ'd so much Order and Regularity in his Administration, that all Matters of Justice were continually determin'd by Men of Integrity, and most learned in the Laws; and all Masters of War were manag'd by experienc'd Soldiers, and wise old Men, best read in Ancient Histories; and in general he never gave any publick Office out of Favour or Friendship, but purely for Desert and Sufficiency, being commonly chosen both by him and the Senate. He usually said, *That such only ought to be advanc'd, who cou'd discharge their Offices by themselves, and not by Deputies; adding withal, That Martial Men had their peculiar Faculties, and Learned Men theirs; therefore every Person shou'd act according to their Knowledge and Understandings.* He observ'd a commendable Custom when he appointed Governors of Provinces and Cities, which was to publish their Names, exhorting and encouraging all Persons to make all just Objections against them, and manifestly to prove the Crime, if there was any Cause of Accusation; provided, if they did not sufficiently prove their Charge, and if their Accusation proceeded from Malice, the Accuser shou'd

shou'd be immediately beheaded : *For*, said he, *since Christians and Jews use such careful Methods in the Choice and Ordinations of their Priests, it is most reasonable that the like Course shou'd be taken in the Choice of Rectors of Provinces, to whom are committed the Lives and Fortunes of those under their Subjection.* He never made a Senator without the Advice and Approbation of the whole Senate, Testimony being given of him by honourable Persons ; and in Choice of Officers his Opinion was, *That they were fit for publick Places who declin'd them, not those who sued for them.* He was so careful of the Publick, that he transacted no Weighty Matter of Judicature without the Assistance of fifty wise and Learned Men, and twenty Lawyers ; where every Man's Opinion was heard, committed to Writing, and a competent Time allow'd to each Counsellor to consider what they propounded, that they might not speak unadvisedly in Matters of Importance. He wou'd in no Case permit Offices to be bought or sold ; *For*, said he, *He who buys his Office, must needs sell Justice : I cannot bear any Merchants in Authority ; which if I tolerate, I cannot afterwards condemn their Actions ; and I shall be asham'd to punish that Person who bought, since I once permitted him to be a Buyer.*

As this Emperor was exceeding careful in his Choice of Judges and Magistrates, so he was a severe Punisher of all such as took Bribes ; and was wont to say, *That he had always his Finger in readiness to pluck out the Eyes of that Judge who was partial, or a Receiver of Bribes and Gratuities ; in which he was so severe, that when Arabinus, who had been noted for that Crime, came with some Senators to pay him his Respects, he cry'd out in a violent Passion, Arabinus not only lives, but takes me for such a senseless Prince, that he presumes to ap-*
pear

pear in my Presence. He banish'd one of his Secretaries for forging a Bill in his Counsel, and caus'd the Sinews of his Fingers to be cut through, that he might never write after. He likewise commanded one of his own Servants, who had receiv'd 100 Crowns of a Soldier for a Bribe, to be hang'd in the High-way, where his Servants commonly pass'd to his Houses out of the City. He so much hated Bribery in the Case of Justice, and Rewards and Gratuities in the Case of Places and Offices, that he never spared his nearest Friends, if they were manifestly convicted: And of this we have a remarkable Instance of his Favorite *Turinus*, who by reason of his Familiarity and Artifices caus'd many to conclude that the Emperor acted nothing without his particular Advice. Which being related to him, for a full Discovery of his Practices, he caus'd a Person openly to petition him for a Place, and then secretly to sollicite *Turinus* to assist him in his Suit, by earnestly moving the Emperor in his behalf: Which being done, and a considerable Sum given, *Turinus* promis'd his utmost Assistance to the Petitioner; and, without mentioning the Matter to the Emperor, he told him shortly after, *That he had carefully Solicited his Suit, and expected an Answer in a little Time.* Whereupon the Emperor receiving Information, caus'd the Petitioner to be often urgent with *Turinus*, who always pretended extraordinary Business; till in the interim the Place was disposed of to another Person, and the unjust Dealings of this Favourite expos'd to the Court, and laid open in the presence of the Emperor, who being fully assur'd of his several Crimes, immediately adjudg'd him to be bound to a Stake in the great *Forum*, and to be smother'd to Death with the Smoke of green Wood and wet

wet Stubble, the Cryer in the mean time proclaiming, *He that sold Smoke, dyes by Smoke.* This Emperor desired that good Judges and Governors shou'd remain long in their Offices and Charges; but of corrupt Magistrates, he was wont to say, *That it was not a sufficient Punishment to deprive them of their Places; but since their Trusts were so great, their Lives ought mostly to pay for the Breach of them.* He seldom remitted any great Crime, and never punish'd with Cruelty: He was most severe towards Thieves; but was very liberal to such as he knew to be poor, that they might have no Temptations to steal, or to covet the Goods of others. He was so remarkable for his Mercy and Clemency, that in all his Reign there was not one Senator put to Death, nor any other Man, before his Accusation was throughly heard, and his Offence sufficiently prov'd.

Alexander was not only careful in punishing Offences and corrupt Officers, but likewise in rewarding all worthy Governors and Judges; so that when he pass'd through their Provinces, he took them into his Litter or Chariot with him, conferring many Favours and Honours upon them: And the better to be assur'd of their Merits or Defects, he us'd certain private and select Men of great Vertue and Integrity, strictly to examine their Lives and Actions, and to give an exact Account of what pass'd in the most remote Provinces and Cities of the Empire. When he sent any to succeed in the Room of a deserving Governour or Magistrate, he likewise sent particular Thanks to him in the Name of the Commonwealth, and bestow'd great Rewards upon him, as Lambs, Herds, Corn, and many other Things; but commonly they were such Things as fell to him by Contingencies and Course of Law.

But as this Prince was very Liberal, yet like *Antoninus Philosophus*, he was not Prodigal; therefore he seldom made large Presents of Money, or out of the standing Revenues of the Empire; being wont to say, *That the Revenues of the Publick ought not to be spent but on publick Buildings, on Wars, and on publick Occasions, and not upon Favourites and Servants*: Therefore both within and about Rome he erected many magnificent Edifices, as Palaces, Baths, Theaters, Courts of Audience, and many other Structures. He abated the ordinary Charges of his House, and reduc'd it to a convenient Order; abridging all the superfluous Expences of some of his Predecessors. He apparell'd himself decently, but not extravagantly, saying, *Government consisted in Vertue, and not in costly Attire*; therefore he wore no Jewels, nor wou'd have any in his Chamber, accounting it a great Vanity, *That a Thing of so small a Quantity shou'd be of so vast a Price*. And at his Table he drunk not in Cups of Gold, not allowing above 200 Pound Weight of Silver Vessels in his House. Though he was very careful of the Revenues of his Exchequer, yet he never encreas'd them, or invented new Impositions; but moderated and limited those of *Helioabalus*, so that in his Reign much less Tribute was paid than to many of his Predecessors, and no Man was injur'd or oppress'd by that Means. He was likewise very affable and Courteous in his Temper, admitting any Man into his Presence, and hearing him freely. He familiarly visited all Persons of Worth in their Sickness, and permitted any Man personally to inform him of his Business; and finding their Demands reasonable, he perform'd their Requests; if otherwise, he calmly debated the Matter with them, and shew'd them their Errors. Being there-

therefore blam'd by his Mother and Wife, who was the Daughter of a worthy Consular Person call'd *Sulpicius*, alledging, *That his Familiarity made his Reign of less Authority and Reputation*, he answer'd, *However it made it the more firm and durable*. His Kindness and Clemency likewise extended to the *Christians*, so that they were not molested, but only a little in the Beginning of his Reign; and in his Temples he had the Image of *Christ*, and of *Abraham*, having likewise many *Christians* in his Family. But as a blind Man without full Knowledge, he accounted *Christ* among his other Gods, offering to adore Him under that Notion, and wou'd have built a separate Temple to Him, but was dissuaded by the *Pagan Priests*.

Alexander, having reign'd near four Years, to the general Satisfaction of all Men, was allarm'd by the News of the Progress of the *Persians* and *Parthians* in the *East*. For a famous *Persian* call'd *Artaxerxes*, of a mean Extract, but of great Courage and Policy, had revolted from *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, overthrown him in Battel, and regain'd the Kingdom of *Persia*, which for some Ages had been subject to the *Parthians*; after which he gave out that he wou'd restore the *Persian* Empire to its ancient Power and Greatness, and accordingly began a successful Invasion of *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*. Upon the Intelligence of which, *Alexander* made great and speedy Preparations to oppose this new Conqueror; and in a short time went in Person into *Asia* with a very numerous and powerful Army. In all this War, and in the Marches and Motions of his Army, he observ'd the most imaginable Order and Discipline; maintaining such Justice in his Army, and punishing all Robberies, Outrages, Injuries and

Alexander's Expedition in the East.

L. D.

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Misdemeanors, with such Care and Severity, that his Camp seem'd a well govern'd and regulated City. He was exceeding careful concerning Ammunition and Provisions, and that no Soldier shou'd rob or defraud another; so that if any Colonel or Captain detain'd the least part of his Soldier's Allowance, he was condemn'd to certain Death. He was no less careful of all sick and wounded Persons in his Army; and endeavour'd that all his Men shou'd be ever in good Order, well Apparell'd, and Armed, their Horses good and througly furnish'd, and their Ensigns and Tents neat and convenient. His Carriage and Behaviour was always affable and familiar towards his Soldiers; and whensoever he din'd or supp'd, he sat with his Tent open in the View of all Men, feeding upon the same Diet that other Soldiers did. Besides he paid his Soldiers very bountifully, and bestow'd many Rewards upon them; but if any Soldiers in their marching among Gardens and Orchards, went out of his Place, he caus'd them to be beaten with Rods of Iron; if the Dignity of the Person freed him from such a Punishment, he severely reprov'd him, using these words, *Do not that to another, which you wou'd not have another do to you*, which he said he learnt from the *Christians*. If he saw a Soldier poor, and wanting Apparel, he reliev'd him accordingly; saying also, *How can that Soldier live under due Command who wants both Cloths and Money! for Hunger and Penury will drive him to Despair, and force him to act unjustly*. For these and the like Matters, the Emperor was infinitely belov'd and dreaded both by his own Soldiers, and by all the Countries through which he pass'd.

In this Order and Regularity *Alexander* advanc'd against the *Persians*; and during the time of this War there pass'd many remarkable Skirmishes and Encounters, till at last both Parties joining all their Forces, they resolv'd to come to a general Battel. *Artaxerxes* flush'd with his former Successes, had gather'd together an Army of an innumerable Company of Foot, 130000 Horse, with 700 Elephants, and 1800 Chariots arm'd with Scythes, which the *Persians* and *Parthians* generally us'd in their Wars. The Emperor on the other side brought an exceeding numerous Army, and in this great Battel perform'd the Office of an excellent Soldier and Commander, visiting every Squadron, encouraging his Men with many kind Expressions, calling them by their Names, promising them great Rewards, and fighting in Person a great part of the Day like a valiant Knight. The Battel continuing for a whole Day very severe, in the Evening *Alexander* gained one of the greatest Battles and Victories that ever was known in the Empire. King *Artaxerxes* escap'd by Flight; and there were Slain in this Fight 10000 Horse-men, Foot-men without number, 200 Elephants, and 300 taken, as likewise 1000 armed Chariots, and an infinite number of Prisoners of all Ranks and Qualities, as appears by a Speech which *Alexander* made in the Senate after his Return to *Rome*. So, after this great Victory, the Emperor without any Resistance recover'd those Countries that *Artaxerxes* had taken from the *Romans*; and passing through *Mesopotamia* he enlarg'd the Bounds of the Empire, took *Ctesiphon* and *Babylon*, and subdu'd *Arabia*, and then return'd to *Antioch* in *Syria*. *Herodian*, through Misinformation or Design, has given a different and detracting Account of these

Alexander's
Conquests.

Wars, for which he is justly blamed by the most judicious Writers. The Emperor being at *Antioch*, he put some Commanders to Death for encouraging their Soldiers in their Debaucheries at *Daphne*, and gave great Rewards to others, and likewise to the Soldiers, particularly those Lands gain'd from the Enemy, to them and their Heirs, if they were likewise Soldiers; for he wou'd not permit these Lands to come into the Hands of private Persons, alledging, *That they wou'd most carefully serve in the Wars, who fought for their own Lands.* Here it was that the Emperor's Mother, *Mammæa*, sent for the famous *Origen* to discourse with him about the Doctrines of *Christianity*; and having kept him some time, she honourably dismiss him, ordering a Guard to conduct him to his Charge in *Alexandria*.

Alexander having establish'd a lasting Peace in the *East*, return'd to *Rome*, where he enter'd in Triumph after a more solemn and pompous Manner than any before him, having his triumphal Chariot drawn by Elephants which he had taken, to the surprize of all the Spectators; and all the People and Senate of *Rome* receiv'd him with infinite Blessings and Applauses, and incredible Transports of Joy. About the same time, *Furius Celsus* obtain'd a great Victory over the *Mauritanians* and *Tingitanians* in *Africk*; *Varius Macrinus* had good Success in *Germany*; and *Junius Palmatus* return'd from *Armenia* with Victory: So that the Breaches and Weaknesses made by corrupt Princes in the Empire, began in some measure to be repair'd. And in re-instating the Empire, and in reforming Corruptions, no Prince was ever more careful than *Alexander*; who after his Return from the *East* spent several Years in *Rome*, making all Kinds of Regulations, and doing Justice

stice in such manner, that he was belov'd and respected to the highest Degree by all worthy Persons. Only he was murmur'd at by some, who complain'd that he was too much govern'd by his Mother, who though she was a Woman of great Wisdom and Virtue, was notwithstanding branded for Avarice. This Emperor was always diligent in his Affairs, insomuch that not a Minute of Time was lost; his leisure Hours were always spent in reading excellent Books, more particularly *Plato's Commonwealth*, and *Tully's Offices*. He was a great Incourager of Learning and Learned Men; and among these, in this declining Age, flourish'd *Dion Cassius*, that excellent Writer of the *Roman History* in *Greek*, who was twice honour'd with the Consulship.

This worthy Emperor thus living in Peace and Tranquility, about the thirteenth Year of his Reign, the *High Germans*, and other *Northern Nations*, took Arms as formerly against the Empire, and pass'd the *Rhine* and *Danube* with such Fury, and such infinite Heads of People, that all *Italy* and *Rome* were in a great Consternation. Upon which the Emperor made what Levies he cou'd, and to the mighty Regret of the City, went in Person to stem this furious Torrent. Notwithstanding the Enemies were exceeding powerful and numerous, *Alexander* by his extraordinary Diligence and Valour soon suppress'd their Fury, and daily gain'd Advantage over them. But though the Emperor met with so much Success against these barbarous Nations, he met with more barbarous Usage from the Standing Legions encamp'd about *Moguntia* or *Mentz*, which had been abominably corrupted in the Reign of *Heliogabalus*, and ever since had been

The Death
of *Alexander*
and *Mammaea*.

train'd up in all kinds of Rapines and Disorders. *Alexander* cou'd neither endure their insolent Outrages, nor they his regular Discipline; but more especially they exclaim'd against the exceeding Penuriousness of his Mother, *Mammaea*, who was then with him in the Camp. These Disorders increasing on one side, and the Emperor's Strictness on the other, the Distemper began to grow too strong for violent Remedies; and these Mischiefs being daily blown up by the Artifices of a famous old Soldier, call'd *Maximinus*, the Soldiers resolv'd upon the Emperor's Death. And shortly after they effected their impious Design in the Emperor's Tent, where *Au. Victor* tells us, That when the Emperor saw himself abandon'd by his Guard, he cri'd out, *That his Mother was the Cause of his Ruin*; and seeing the Executioner come, with great Confidence he offer'd his Neck to be Struck off, which was likewise follow'd by the Murder of his Mother. This was the unfortunate End of *Alexander Severus*, the 25th Emperor of *Rome*, in the 29th Year of his Age, after a prosperous Reign of thirteen Years and nine Days; an admirable Prince, both for Government and Virtues, who by means of his Mother's Avarice, and his own rash Reformation of a corrupted Army, was taken off in the prime of his Age, to the inexpressible Grief of *Rome*, and the whole Empire. If we may except *Julius Cæsar*, whose Ambition overwhelm'd him; and *Pertinax*, whose Avarice destroy'd him: This was the first good Emperor and Governor in *Rome* that di'd an unnatural Death: And this may be said to be owing to the Corruptions of *Heliogabalus*, as that of *Pertinax* to those of *Commodus*; so that these Tyrants are in part answerable for the others Deaths, besides the infinite

nite Number of Miseries they brought upon the State afterwards. *Alexander* di'd in the 988th Year of the City, 258 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 235 after our Saviour's Nativity, 139 after the last of the Twelve *Cæsars*, and 42 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

CHAP. V.

From the Death of Alexander, to the Captivity of Valerian, the Thirty Second Emperor; when the Empire began to be usurp'd by Thirty Persons at once, commonly call'd, The Thirty Tyrants.

Containing the Space of about 24 Years.

I. **T**HE barbarous Murder of *Alexander* at first occasion'd great Tumults and Confusions among the Soldiers, which being appeas'd, and finding no Heir to the deceas'd Emperor, they all made choice of *Maximinus*, who had been the chief Promoter of the Murder, swore him, and acknowledg'd him as Emperor. *Maximinus* immediately join'd his Son *Maximus* with him, as Partner and Emperor, with equal Power and Authority; but the Senate and People of *Rome* utterly refus'd to confirm their Election, or to acknowledge either of them as Emperors, being extreamly enrag'd at the Death of *Alexander*, and resolv'd to revenge it the first Opportunity. So that *Maximinus* was the first Roman Emperor, to whom Historians give that Title, which was elected

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Maximinus
made Empe-
ror, and his
Son *Maximus*.

elected without the Consent of the Senate. *Maximinus* was now 62 Years of Age, and his Son 18. The Father was a Person of the meanest Extraction, and was born in *Thrace*, where for some time he was only a poor Herdsman; his Father *Nicaea* being a *Goth*, and his Mother, *Ababa*, an *Alane*; so that of either side he was barbarous by Descent. He was of a Gigantick Stature, being in Height eight geometrical Foot and an half, and had a Body answerable to his Stature in Strength, Symmetry, and Proportion; and his Joints were so large, that his Wives Bracelet often serv'd him for a Ring upon his Thumb. His Diet was so remarkable for the Quantity, that he generally eat forty Pound weight of Flesh every Day, and drank about six Gallons of Wine, without being immoderate in either. His Strength was also proportionable, being able to turn and draw loaden Wains, which two Oxen cou'd scarcely move; to strike out the Teeth of an Horse with his Fist, to break his Thighs, and kill him with a Kick; to crumble *Tophy* Stones between his Fingers, and to cleave young Trees with his Hands. Besides, he was of a Temper so bold and couragious, so fierce and presumptuous, that relying wholly upon his prodigious Bulk and Strength, he neither fear'd nor regarded any Man in the World. For his great Strength, he was call'd *Hercules*, *Antæus* and *Milo*; for his Courage and Valour, *Achilles*, *Hector* and *Ajax*; and for his Savage Cruelty, *Busiris*, *Phalaris* and *Cyclops*.

His first Education was very mean, being brought up chiefly among Cattle; but his Ambition increasing with his Strength and Body, he left his poor Employments, and repair'd to the *Roman* Army, where he was soon distinguish'd and

and admir'd by all Men, and particularly by the Emperor *Severus* then reigning, though he was not arriv'd at his full Stature. *Severus* celebrating the Birth Day of his Son *Geta* with his Army in *Syria*, *Maximinus* newly list'd, so signaliz'd himself by his Fifty-cuffs, Running and Wrestling, that he became indisputable Conqueror in those Exercises. And afterwards shewing to the Emperor some extraordinary Instances of his Strength and Courage, he was made one of his Guard, continually attended the Palace, and receiv'd considerable Gifts and Rewards from Him. In the Reign of *Caracalla*, he was made a Centurion, and receiv'd other Encouragements in the Army; but wou'd not serve *Macrinus* by Reason of his Treason to his Sovereign, returning to his own Country, *Thrace*, where he purchas'd some Lands, and continu'd there till the Reign of young *Heliogabalus*, from whom he expected some great Post in the Army. But he was so discourag'd by the monstrous Effeminacy of that Emperor, that he left the Court, though his Friends soon after rais'd him to the Office of a Tribune. Upon the Death of *Heliogabalus* he remov'd to *Rome*, and was receiv'd with great Kindness and Courtesy by *Alexander*, who particularly recommended him to the Senate, and made him a Colonel and Commander of the fourth Legion, which consisted of new rais'd Soldiers. *Maximinus* gladly accepted this Charge, and perform'd his Duty with great Advantage in the Wars of *Germany*, where he shew'd exceeding Valour and Courage; by means of which, and the several Gifts he frequently bestow'd among the Soldiers, after the treasonable Murder of *Alexander*, he was rais'd to the Empire. So prevalent is Ambition, that it makes Men forget all Gratitude and Loyalty, and

and commit the blackest Villanies to obtain Sovereignty, not suffering them to remember, That the same unjust Means that rais'd them, seldom fails to destroy them.

Maximinus seeing himself advanc'd to so high a Station as the Empire, according to his proud and insolent Temper, began immediately to shew the utmost Extent of his Authority; and chusing rather to be fear'd than lov'd, he soon committed great Cruelties. And first, he put to Death all such as had been very intimate and familiar with *Alexander*; and then banish'd an infinite Number of others, not allowing any Commander in his Army, or any Senator in the Senate, that had been advanc'd by him. And because he was much asham'd of the Meanness of his Extraction, he commanded all such as best knew Him, and his Parents, to be slain; though many of them had reliev'd his Parents and him in the time of their low Condition. And because the *Christians* had found some Shelter, and a favourable Entertainment in the Family of his Predecessor, he rais'd a severe Persecution against them; though it was principally levell'd against the Bishops and Ministers of the Church. This was the sixth general Persecution of the *Christians*, which broke out in the first Year, and in the beginning of this Emperor's Reign, Thirty three Years after the beginning of that under *Severus*. This was extremely violent, but very short, occasioning *Origen* to write his Book concerning Martyrdom; but it was not so general as the other Persecutions were, raging in some particular Places, especially in the Province where *Maximinus* resided. Whence *Sulpitius Severus* admits not this into the Number of the ten Persecutions, making no more than nine *Pagan* Persecutions, and reserving the tenth

The sixth general Persecution.

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tenth for the Times of *Antichrist*. The Cruelty of this Emperor likewise extended to all rich Persons, whose Lives and Estates became a frequent Sacrifice to him; reposing such a Confidence in his own Strength and Courage, that he judg'd himself in a manner Immortal. Yet he had so much Policy and Regard to his Safety, as to endeavour the securing his Soldiers; for besides their ordinary Pay, he gave them many Pensions and Rewards, providing all things necessary for them; and likewise in all Actions took greater Pains than any Common Soldier, shewing incredible Courage and Diligence. Though he was so vast in Body and Strength, yet he ever went well arm'd, was upon all Occasions as diligent as any in his Army, and had always bold and hardy Men about him, fit for the Execution of any Attempt. Finally, the Effects of all his Actions was to command as a true Tyrant, and to act the greatest Outrages with the most probable Security.

In a short time the insupportable Behaviour of this Tyrant caus'd *Maximus*, a Consular Person, to Conspire with many of *Alexander's* old Soldiers, and some others, to break down a wooden Bridge as soon as the Emperor had pass'd it, and abandon him to the Enemy. But this was soon discover'd to *Maximinus*; though some think the whole Project was invented by himself, to colour over his Cruelties, which he executed to so high a Degree, that he caus'd three thousand to be Slain, which he said were guilty of that Treason. Shortly after a great number of *Alexander's* old Soldiers mutined; and withdrawing themselves from the Camp, proclaim'd one *Quartianus* or *Ticus* for Emperor, who had lately been remov'd from his Charge. The Soldiers constrain'd him to accept of the Empire, which he

he with great Reason refus'd; for *Macedonius*, who had been the chief Promoter of his Advancement, within a few Days after murder'd him in his Bed, and carry'd his Head to *Maximinus*, where he was kindly receiv'd, but afterward put to a cruel Death, for his Treason to his Sovereign, and his Treachery to his Friend. With these Successes the Cruelty and Tyranny of *Maximinus* increas'd; but shortly after following the Wars, he remov'd out of *Pannonia*, and overthrew the *Germans* in several Battels, wasted all their Country with Fire and Sword, and threatned to subdue all the Northern Nations as far as the Ocean; and had his general Carriage been answerable to his Valour, he might probably have enjoy'd Time and Opportunity to have perform'd all. The Season being far advanc'd, he winter'd in *Pannonia*; from whence he wrote to the Senate, extolling all his Victories and Conquests, and sending them all his Battels and Skirmishes painted on Tables; and at the same time he commanded infinite Murders and Slaughters to be executed at *Rome*; and mostly the principal Persons of the City; presuming only upon his own Personal Strength, and the Power of his Army, to which he gave many Rewards, arising from Confiscations and other Rapines. Insomuch that the Senate and People of *Rome* stood in great Fear of him, many being ready to tremble at his Name; and both Men and Women made solemn Vows and Prayers to their Gods, That he might never come to *Rome*.

Most of the Provinces began to groan under the Burthen of this Tyrant, and *Africk* first shew'd its Detestation of Him, by means of his Procurator, who gather'd his Master's Revenues and Tributes with insupportable Outrages and Ex-

tortions,

tortions, pillaging the Goods, and taking away the Lives of many worthy Men. And continuing thus in his Rapines and Cruelties, the People not being able to endure his Oppressions, form'd a Conspiracy against him, and destroy'd him. Afterwards considering how dangerous a Crime they had committed, they for their Security resolv'd to commit a greater, which was, To create an Emperor. Wherefore conferring with the Legions of that Province, they unanimously agreed to chuse *Gordian* Emperor, who was then Proconsul of *Africk*, a Person of great Fame and Reputation both for his Vertues and Dignities, and near 80 Years of Age. And accordingly the Soldiers and Natives assembling together, they enter'd tumultuously into *Gordian's* House, who immediately conceiv'd that they came to slay him; but understanding their Design, he utterly refus'd their Offer, particularly alledging his extreme Age. But they were so firm and resolute to their first Design, that notwithstanding all his Opposition, they constrain'd him to accept of the Ensigns and Title of Emperor; which were given to him, and likewise to his Son *Gordian*, who was 46 Years of Age. The Old Man, though he accepted of this Dignity against his Consent, yet he immediately wrote to the Senate, acknowledging, *That he had accepted of the Empire, but only with Design to free it from the insupportable Tyrannies of Maximinus.* Having publish'd the like in the City of *Tisdrum*, where he was elected, he took his Journey towards *Carthage*, with all the Marks and Attendance of an Emperor, where he was receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction; as he was also at *Rome* shortly after. The Senate and People of *Rome* with great Readiness approv'd of the Election of *Gordian* and his Son, adjudging at the

Gordian and his Son Gordian made Emperors in Africk,

And approv'd by the Senate.

the same Time *Maximinus* and his Son *Maximus* Enemies and Rebels to the State ; and the People with infinite Rage and Fury, tore in Pieces many Friends of *Maximinus*, and Instruments of his Cruelty, of which several were not culpable. They slew *Valerian*, Præfect of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, a great Favourite of *Maximinus*, and also *Sabinus*, Governour of the City, for hindering the Interest of *Gordian* ; and at the same time the Senate elected the Youngest *Gordian*, Grandson to the Eldest, and made him *Cæsar* : So that there was a sudden Alteration in all things in the City ; for before there was nothing but a general Fear and Confusion in all Parts.

The Senate now considering in what Dangers they were involv'd, and what might ensue from the vast Power of *Maximinus*, made all necessary Preparations for their Safety and Security, writing Letters into all Provinces, commanding all those Governours to be displac'd which were set up by *Maximinus*, and ordering *Gordian* to be proclaim'd Emperor. This Order and Direction was obey'd in most Provinces, in some the Governours were slain, and in others the Senate's Messengers ; so that there was Bloodshed in all Parts, and the Cruelty of *Maximinus* made all Men cruel. Upon Intelligence of the Transactions of *Africk* and *Rome*, *Maximinus* was so confounded and enrag'd, that he cry'd out like a savage Beast ; and running his Head against the Walls, he fell on the Floor, rent his Cloaths, and gave many other Signs of an Extraordinary Fury and Distraction. The next Day, when the Heat of his Passion was somewhat allay'd, he call'd his whole Army together, and in a set Speech complain'd of the Infidelity and Treachery of the *Africans*, and of the Levity and Inconstancy

stancy of the *Romans*, inciting them to Revenge his Cause, making large Promises and Assurances, *That they shou'd possess the Estates of all Persons who had offended.* And after this he gave them their ordinary Pay, and many Rewards besides; so that all promis'd to serve him with the utmost Fidelity, though many of them bore a mortal Hatred against him. In this manner using all possible Diligence, *Maximinus* directed his Journey towards *Rome*, with his whole Army, breathing out Ruin and Destruction against the City, and designing to assuage his Wrath by the severest Cruelties: But his Marches were very slow and incommodious, by reason of the great Numbers of Men and Carriages, and the Baggage, together with the great Want of Victuals; for all the unfortify'd Cities and Towns in his Way, hating his Government, had abandon'd their Habitations and secured their Provisions.

During these Transactions in *Germany* and *Rome*, *Capelianus*, Governour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* in *Africa*, made an Insurrection against *Gordian*, being an Enemy to him, and a Friend to *Maximinus*, who had plac'd him there. Understanding the Promotion of *Gordian*, he immediately put his own Legions into Order, and levying what Forces he cou'd besides, he march'd towards *Carthage*, against whom old *Gordian* sent his Son with a raw undisciplin'd Army, which notwithstanding fought valiantly for a while, but was at length overthrown by *Capelianus*, and young *Gordian* Slain, after a short Reign with his Father of about 30 Days; being different from his Father in Vertue, and most remarkable for his great Number of Children and Concubines, for which he was by some call'd the *Priamus*, and by others the *Priapus* of his Time. His Father hearing

The Death
of young
Gordian,

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ing

And of his
Father.

ing of the Death of his Son, of the Loss of the Battel, and a victorious Enemy approaching, and seeing no Hopes of Relief, hung himself with his own Girdle; and so dy'd with Reproach and Ignominy, after he had liv'd 80 Years in great Honour and Reputation. In the mean time *Capellianus*, pursuing his Victory, enter'd *Carthage*; where he slew the Principal of those which escap'd from Battel, pillag'd Houses and Temples, exercis'd excessive Cruelties both in the City and Country, and plunder'd all Towns and Villages, under Pretence of Revenging the Injuries done to *Maximinus*; likewise using all possible Methods so to gain the Hearts of the Soldiers as to be made Emperor himself. His successful Progress drove the Senate and People of *Rome* into a mighty Terror and Consternation; for now they not only saw themselves depriv'd of the Assistance they expected from *Gordian* and his Son, and the March of these new victorious Troops; but likewise understood that *Maximinus* was coming down against them like a raging Lion, threatening Death and Destruction to all Enemies and Opposers. To remedy these threatening Dangers, the Senate with great Solemnity met at the Temple of *Jupiter*; and after many serious Consultations, they chose *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* for Emperors conjointly; both which had held great Offices, had been worthy Commanders and Governours, and had liv'd in good Fame and Reputation. And to satisfy the People, who consented not to this Election, the Senate a second time nominated the youngest *Gordian* for *Cæsar*, a Youth of very promising Abilities.

Pupienus and
Balbinus
made Empe-
rors.

These two being created and sworn Emperors, made all the Levies they cou'd both in *Rome* and the Country; and *Pupienus* being the most experienc'd

rienc'd Man, left the City to oppose *Maximinus*, who was coming down like a Torrent upon *Italy*, extreemly rejoycing at the Deaths of the two *Gordians*, and the Victory of *Capelianus*. But after he understood this last Election, he redoubled his Rage and Fury; and hearing that *Pupienus* was marching against him with a considerable Force, he speedily pass'd the *Alps*, and enter'd *Italy*, where he expected great Plenty of Provisions, but was wholly disappointed. For the Senate had taken such care that all kinds of Sustenance was remov'd to the fortify'd Places, and the rest abandon'd: So that his Soldiers for want of Victuals and Necessaries began to murmur, and blame his Conduct; and his Punishment of some encreas'd the Hatred of the rest. Soon after he met with another Disappointment, for approaching the City of *Aquileia*, which he expected to enter with no Difficulty, he found an extraordinary Resistance; for besides the Strength and Populoufness of the City, it was commanded by two valiant Noblemen of *Rome*, and Consular Persons, call'd *Crispinus* and *Menefilus*, who had so well furnish'd the City with Men and Ammunition, that *Maximinus* found great Difficulties in passing the River to invest the Place. Upon his assaulting the City, the Besieged through down such Quantities of scalding Pitch and Sulphur upon his Soldiers, that they were not able to continue their Attacks; and so resolute were the Inhabitants, that we are assured, That the Women cut the Hair off their Heads to furnish the Soldier with Bow-strings. This unexpected Opposition drove *Maximinus* into such a terrible Rage, that having no Power to exercise his Cruelties upon his Enemies, he turn'd his Fury against several of his Commanders, whom he put to Death,

as if the City had held out through their careless Neglect. But during this Siege, and the March of the Emperor *Pupienus*, *Rome* endur'd great and new Afflictions, occasion'd by two of *Maximinus's* Soldiers, who entering the Senate-House for News, were slain by two Senators; which rais'd such Tumults and Contests between the *Prætorian* Soldiers and the Citizens, that after several Slaughters and Cruelties, the City was set on Fire by the Soldiers, and a great Part of it consum'd; the Emperor *Balbinus* not being able to stop the Fury either of the Fire or People, was constrain'd to retire to his Palace. So that during the Tyrannical Reign of *Maximinus*, neither the City of *Rome*, nor the Provinces, were free from Wars, Tumults, Murders, Robberies, and all manner of Calamities.

The Death
of *Maximinus*
and *Maximus*.

In the mean time *Maximinus* in vain attack'd *Aquileia*; the Scarcity in his Army, and the Hatred of his Soldiers encreas'd, who daily hearing from the Senate of Revolts in several Parts of the Empire, and that most of their Wives and Children were at *Rome*, where *Maximinus* threatned his chiefest Revenge, they resolv'd to mutiny and destroy him, to prevent future Calamities. And accordingly entering his Tent at Noon-day, when He and his Sons were reposing themselves, they boldly set upon him, and slew him without Resistance, and likewise his Son *Maximus*, saying, *Of a cursed Litter not a Whelp is to be spar'd*. These were the Deaths of *Maximinus* and his Son *Maximus*, in the 65th and 21st Years of their Ages, making together the Twenty sixth Emperor of *Rome*; whose Deaths were universally approv'd, having brought those Mischiefs upon themselves; especially the Father, who was so monstrous both in Body and Mind, that *Capitolinus* says of him, *Never*

Never did a more cruel Beast tread upon the Earth. Their Deaths being known in *Aquileia*, the Inhabitants open'd their Gates to the Army, and all became Friends: Their Heads were likewise sent to *Rome*, where they were received with the greatest Rejoicings and Sacrifices, and the Messenger that brought the News, came from *Aquileia* to *Rome* in Four Days. *Maximinus* Reign'd, or rather continu'd in his Usurpation, about three Years, and di'd in the 99th Year of the City, 261 after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 238 after our Saviour's Nativity, 142 after the last of the twelve *Cæsars*, and 45 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

II. The Death of such a dreadful and formidable Person as *Maximinus*, caus'd a great and sudden Alteration in all Mens Minds; and *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* continu'd Emperors without contradiction, having been formerly created by the Senate. The former, who was arriv'd at *Ravenna* when *Maximinus* was slain with all speed, repaired to *Aquileia*, to satisfy the Army there; and being receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction both by Citizens and Soldiers, he paid off the latter, gave them great Rewards, and dispatch'd the Standing Legions to their respective Cities and Provinces. After which he return'd to *Rome* with a Body of *German*s for his Guard, which he chose upon the Account of Contests between the *Praetorian* Soldiers and the Citizens of *Rome*; who, understanding the Death of *Maximinus*, were all pacifi'd, and repair'd with the Senate to receive *Balbinus* into the Empire, and young *Gordian* for *Cæsar*, as formerly, being all nobly and splendidly entertain'd. Peace being thus establish'd beyond all Expectation, the two Emperors with extraor-

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Pupienus and
Balbinus con-
tinue Empe-
rors.

dinary Acclamations enter'd the Senate-House ; where, according to Custom , they were stil'd, *The Fathers of the Senate*, and great Thanks return'd to them, *as the only Preservers of the Romans Lives and Estates*. And in Remembrance that these Emperors were created by the Senate without the Soldiers, some highly extoll'd the Fathers , *for their Care, in electing such wise and worthy Emperors, contrary to the rash and indiscreet Practice of those who had often chosen their Governors, according to their own Interests , not the publick Good ; and whose Actions commonly brought their untimely, but deserved Deaths*. Which Speeches the *Prætorian Soldiers* took so hainously, that they began to dislike the Proposition of *Pupienus and Balbinus* , holding themselves highly affronted both for the bringing in of the *German Guards*, and for the Senates seeming to triumph over them , and taking away their Authority of making Emperors. And so great was their Insolence and Ambition , that from that time they not only wish'd but practis'd the Deaths of these two Emperors ; who govern'd all things with great Skill and Prudence, made many good and profitable Laws and Ordinances , and sent necessary Forces to all Provinces, doing Justice impartially, greatly honouring the Senate , and generally shewing themselves courteous and affable to all Men. But all this wou'd not avail to gain the Affections of the Soldiers ; for Virtue and Goodness seldom pacify the Hatred of lewd and wicked men , when their Licentiousness is restrain'd and disallow'd ; therefore all their principal care was how they might ruin these two good Emperors, without any Danger to their own Persons and Fortunes.

But the *German Guards* and the *Citizens* might have

have been a sufficient Protection for the Emperors, had not their own private Jealousies and Emulation open'd a passage to their Ruins; for they were wise and aged, and both were careful of the publick Affairs, yet they too much consider'd their private Interest and Resentments. *Pupienus* priz'd his Wisdom and Experience above the others, and judg'd the Superiority to belong to him; and the other expected it upon the Account of the Nobility and Antiquity of his House and Family; so that each of them having his own Guard, in a manner stood upon his own Defence against the other, though one Palace contain'd them both. About the same time the City was alarm'd with the News of the *Parthians*, or rather *Persians*, invading the Empire with Success, and likewise of the *Germans* being up in Arms to the Hazard of that Province; upon which these two Emperors prudently agreed to march both in Person, one into the East against the *Persians*, and the other to the West against the *Germans*. But while great Preparations were making against both these Enemies, the *Capitoline Games* were publicly celebrated in *Rome*; to which the greatest Part of the Emperors Guards and Family resorted, both of them remaining in the Palace smally attended, without any Suspicion of Treason or Violence. The *Prætorian Soldiers* finding this advantageous Time, for which they had long waited, enter'd the Palace with great Fury, all in Arms; which *Pupienus* perceiving, he sent with the utmost speed for *Balbinus*, and likewise for both their Guards which might have been sufficient for their Defence. But *Balbinus* out of a vain suspicion that his Colegue sent for his Guards to act something against him, not only protract-

ed Time, but hinder'd the sending for the *Germans*; so that these Traitors had easy Access into both the Emperor's Chambers, where in their Rage they divested them of their Imperial Robes, and barbarously hailed these poor innocent Emperors, like two Criminals, through the midst of the City towards their Camp: But understanding that the *Germans* were hastning after them to their Relief and Rescue, to put an End to all further Contests, they slew them both, and left their Bodies in the Streets. This was the deplorable End of *Pupienus* and *Balbinus*, making together the twenty Seventh Emperor of *Rome*, and Reigning a little above a Year; who after they had been rais'd by their illustrious Merits and Lineage to the highest Thrones of human Glory, were destroy'd principally by means of their own private Jealousies and Ambitions. Their Deaths hapned in the 992d Year of the City, 239 Years after the Birth of our Saviour, and 46 after the publick Sale of their Empire.

A. D.
239.
Gordian made
Emperor.

III. The Soldiers having committed this execrable Murder, by Accident met with young *Gordian* in the Streets, whom they immediately saluted by the Title of *Augustus* and Emperor, crying out to the People, *Since those two Emperors were dead who were created against their Consents, they wou'd now chuse Gordian, whom formerly they desired to be made Cæsar*; who in this manner went with them to their Camp. *Gordian* being thus chosen by the *Prætorian* Cohorts, the Senate and People seeing no Remedy against their pretended Authority, willingly approv'd and confirm'd the Election; for he was generally belov'd in the City upon the Account of the Merits of the two former *Gordians*: And from this Election

on there ensu'd an amicable Correspondence between the Soldiers and Citizens; *Gordian* beginning his Government with good Order and Success. *Gordian* was but 16 Years of Age when he enter'd upon the Empire, and some say less; being of a very ancient and illustrious Family; for his Grandfather *Gordian*, by the Father's side was descended from the Family of the *Gracchi*, and by the Mother's from the Renowned Emperor *Trajan*. This Young Prince was of a very mild and docible Disposition, and so studious and given to Learning, that we are assured, that he had 62000 Books in his Library. He began his Reign with many publick Feasts and Games, and a Munificent Donative and Distribution among the Soldiers and Citizens; in which and other Matters this Young Emperor so much follow'd the Counsels of wise Men, that he soon gain'd much Love and Reputation in the City. But his Interest was not so soon establish'd in the Provinces; for in the first Year of his Reign, a Commander call'd *Sabinianus* rebell'd in *Africk*; but the Governor of *Mauritania* by *Gordian's* Order marching against him, he was seiz'd by his own Men, who craving Pardon for their Offence, brought him to *Carthage*, and deliver'd him into the Hands of the Emperor's Officers. This and the following Year were likewise attended with such Accidents and Calamities, as drove the *Romans* into great Fears and Superstitious Projects; the first was a strange Eclipse of the Sun, which made Noon-Day as dark as Midnight; which was follow'd by such terrible Earthquakes, that many Cities and Towns of the Empire were swallow'd up and destroy'd.

This Young Emperor in the beginning of his Reign took care to strengthen his Interest many Ways;

Ways; but more especially by the Alliance of *Misitheus* his Præfect and Instructor, whom he so much honour'd for his great Wisdom and Learning, that he marri'd his Daughter; and the Authority and Council of this Person made his Reign very prosperous, and much esteemed. For *Misitheus*, though but of an ordinary Family, was of great Virtue, and so discreet and exact in all his Actions, that though *Gordian* was so very young, and naturally inclinable to Vice and Sensuality, yet he form'd him into an excellent Prince and Governor, both in Peace and War. Which plainly demonstrates, that it is the greatest Strength and Glory of a Prince to have a good and wise Council, and to have his Court replenish'd with honest and worthy Persons; and of this, *Gordian* was always sensible, as appears from the following Letter written by him to his Father-in-Law, in Answer to another which contain'd some Directions and Reproofs.

If the immortal Gods had not protected the Roman Empire, I had been deluded and sold by these wicked Persons: For now I am fully convinc'd, that Fœlix ought not to have been intrusted with the Roman Cohorts, nor Serapion with the fourth Legion: And not to mention all my Errors, I acknowledge that I have acted many things that I ought not. But Heaven be prais'd, through your Instructions, who never act upon sordid Principles, I have learnt such things as I cou'd never have known while I was shut up in my Palace. For what cou'd I have done, while I was blinded by Maurus, who was Confederate with Gaudian, Reverendus, and Montanus? So that whatsoever they approv'd or condemn'd, relying upon their Integrity, I accepted or rejected. Therefore, Father, that Prince is extrêamly unfortunate, who has not such about him as will tell him the Truth without Disguise:

Disguise : For as a King cannot immediately know what passes among his People , of Necessity he must understand it by the Relation of others, and dispose Affairs according to their Information.

For Four Years this Emperor Reign'd in great Peace and Prosperity, to the general Satisfaction of all Men ; in the Fifth he was alarm'd with the News from the East that the mighty *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who succeeding his Brother *Artaxerxes* in his Kingdom, had furiously enter'd the Confines of the *Roman* Empire, and pass'd as far as *Antioch* in *Syria*, which City he had taken, and pillag'd the Adjacent Provinces. Gordian caus'd the Temple of *Janus* to be open'd, and left *Rome* with a brave and well-train'd Army, and large Provisions and Sums of Money for their subsistence ; and marching by Land from *Italy* to pass the *Hellespont* into *Asia*, he pass'd through *Mæsia*, to stop the Progress of the *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations, which came down like an Inundation to have inhabited *Thrace* ; against which he obtain'd some Victories, and left those Provinces in a peaceable condition. Having pass'd the *Hellespont*, he march'd through the Lesser *Asia* into *Syria*, where he had many Battels and Encounters with *Sapor* ; and obtaining some considerable Victories, he soon recover'd the City of *Antioch* ; and shortly after proceeding further, he took the great Cities, *Caræ*, and *Nisibe*. For *Sapor* being discouraged by the first Battels, was now so terrifi'd, that notwithstanding he had a potent and numerous Army, he durst not engage the Emperor ; but leaving those Cities and several others, he abandon'd the Limits and Confines of the *Roman* Empire, and retired into his own Country. In these Wars all things were principally manag'd by the wise Counsel and Direction

Gordian's Expedition into the East.

The Death
of *Misitheus*.

Philip ad-
vanc'd.

rection of the Emperor's Father-in-Law *Misitheus*, who was his *Prætorian* Præfect, and Commander in chief, and govern'd all things with so much Judgment, that he fail'd not in any material Point; and so by his Conduct and Valour *Gordian* obtain'd many Conquests and Victories, and the Soldiers no less Honour and Reputation. The like hapned in all other Matters conducing to the good Government of the Empire in general; for he was so good and wise a Man, and the compliable Disposition of the Emperor did so happily concur, that during this Reign, the Affairs of the Publick succeeded as prosperously as cou'd be expected in such corrupted Times. But before the Wars were perfectly finish'd, *Misitheus* was suddenly seiz'd with a violent Distemper, which ended his Days soon after; being secretly poyson'd, as is believ'd, by *Philip*, a valiant *Arabian*, who had pass'd through many Offices and Places of Trust, and after his Death was rais'd by the Emperor to the same Offices, namely to be *Prætorian* Prefect and General of his Army, not suspecting his treasonable Designs.

After this new Advancement, a stop was soon put to all the favourable Fortunes of *Gordian*, for *Philip* seeing himself so Potent, and being dazled with the ambitious Prospect of a Crown, resolv'd to venture all to obtain it; and in order to that he us'd all possible Methods of Kindness and Popularity to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, and make them Enemies to *Gordian*. Then to effect this Design by his Artifices and Practices, he caus'd a Scarcity of Provisions in the Army; and insinuating to the Soldiers that this proceeded from the Youth and Unskilfulness of *Gordian*, they determin'd to make *Philip* his Equal in the Empire, and that he shou'd be as his Tutor and Governor;

Governor; to which the virtuous young Emperor patiently submitted, being unable to oppose this impudent Determination. *Philip* seeing himself equal with his Sovereign, became more Insolent and Audacious, so that by means of his Youth, and the Army's Favour, he began to command all, as though he had been sole Emperor. But *Gordian* being unable to endure this Disgrace and Incroachment, assembled the Army, openly complaining of the Insolence and Ingratitude of *Philip*, adding to this purpose, *I am but Young, yet older by six Years than when I was made Emperor by you; my Body tender, yet daily expos'd to the Chance of War; my Council raw, yet improv'd by your Wisdoms; and my Conquests nothing by themselves, but by your Valour famous and renown'd. What then are my Errors, that I may correct them; or your Grievances, that I may redress them? For I solemnly declare, That it is only for the Good of the Empire, and for your Happiness, that I can wish to live. Notwithstanding these Complaints, Philip so cunningly and successfully manag'd his Affairs, that the poor young Emperor was displac'd, abandon'd by all, and reduc'd to that Extremity, that he sent to entreat Philip, That if he wou'd not permit him to be his Equal, that he wou'd please to allow him the Dignity of Cæsar; but not allowing him that, He desir'd to be his Prætorian Prefect: Which being likewise deni'd, he humbly requested him, That he might be one of his Captains as long as he liv'd. At this Petition Philip's cruel Mind somewhat relented; but afterwards considering how much *Gordian* was belov'd in Rome and *Africk*, and other Provinces, both for his Family and Virtues, he commanded him to be slain, which was the deplorable End of the youngest *Gordian*, the Twenty eighth Emperor of Rome, in the 22d Year*

The Death
of *Gordian*.

Year of his Age, after a successful Reign of near six Years; a Person of great Deserts and Virtues, who had perform'd many excellent Things to the Good of the Publick, but unfortunately liv'd in a State and Age so abominably corrupted by wicked Emperors and Tyrants, that now there was no Security for good or bad Princes. He was infinitely belov'd by the Senate and People of *Rome*, and likewise by the Soldiers, who call'd him *Their Son*. Though in this sudden Fury they brutishly murder'd him, by means of the Delusions of *Philip*, yet they made him a Sepulchre in the Confines of *Persia*, with this Inscription in the *Latin*, *Persian*, *Hebrew*, and *Egyptian* Tongues: 'To the Divine Gordian, Conqueror of the Persians, Goths, and Sarmatians; Extinguisher of the Roman Civil Discords, and Subduer of the Germans, but not of the Philippians. His Death hapned in the 99th Year of the City, 267 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 244 after our Saviour's Nativity, 146 after the last of the Twelve Cæsars, and 51 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

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244.

IV. Thus *Philip* succeeded in his Wickedness; but Justice was more speedy in the punishing the rest of *Gordian's* Murderers; for it is observ'd all those Nine that slew him, perish'd by their own Hands, and with the same Swords they us'd against him. But *Philip* escap'd a longer Time, and was so fortunate as to be immediately sworn and obey'd as Emperor by the Army: Whereupon he wrote to the Senate an Account of his Election, and of the Death of *Gordian*, which he falsely told the Fathers, proceeded from a natural Distemper. But we are told, That the Senate were so far from complying with *Philip's* Election,

on, that they Chose one *M. Marcinus*, and then *Valens Hostilianus*; but both dying suddenly, they approv'd of *Philip's* Election, and gave him the Title of *Augustus*. *Julius Philippus* was by Birth an *Arabian* of *Trachonites*, of dishonourable Parentage, his Father being a notorious Captain of Robbers in that Country. He was bred up in the Wars among the *Roman* Armies, from whence he learn'd Experience and Valour, and from his own Country, Treachery and Cruelty. He took his Son *Philip*, though a Child of about six or seven Years of Age, for his Companion in the Empire; of whom it is observ'd, that he was of such a compos'd and melancholy Temper, that no Man by any Invention cou'd make him Laugh or Smile. *Philip* being more than ordinarily desirous to return to *Rome*, and to see himself Lord of that mighty City, made a very dishonourable Peace with the *Persians*; and leaving to them all the Province of *Mesopotamia*, and Part of *Syria*, he march'd his Army towards *Rome*. But first he design'd to visit his own Country, *Arabia*; and arriving there, in Memory of his Name he founded a City, call'd *Philopolis*, near his Native Place and Habitation; from whence he took his Journey towards *Rome*. Arriving at the City, though he was receiv'd as Sovereign Lord, yet not with those Applauses and Blessings he expected; for his dishonourable giving up the Province of *Mesopotamia* was no ways pleasing to the Senate or People. Which when he understood, he made a large Donative and Distribution of Money, and other Presents among the People, to regain their Esteems; and after that sought an Occasion to make War against the *Persians*, and likewise proclaim'd it with a Resolution to recover the Honour which he

Philip made
Emperor.

Who makes
his Son Com-
panion with
him.

he had there lost. But this War came to no Action, for the *Persians* being much weakned in the late Wars, and dreading the *Roman* Power, gladly restor'd all the Provinces without War or Bloodshed.

We have but little or no Account of any more of this Emperor's Actions, till in the fourth Year of his Reign, which was just a thousand Years since the Building of the City, he order'd the Celebration of the famous Secular Games, as it were solemnizing the Birth-day of *Rome*; which Games were regularly exhibited but once in a hundred Years, though these were but forty three Years after those last under *Severus*. They were never exhibited but by five Emperors, before the Removal of the Imperial Seat to *Bizantium* or *Constantinople*, by *Augustus*, by *Claudius*, by *Domitian*, by *Severus*, and lastly by this Emperor *Philip*, who celebrated them with greater Pomp and Magnificence than ever had been known before, by Reason of the solemn Commemoration of the Building of the City. In the *Circus Maximus* were hunted, baited, and encounter'd, infinite Numbers of all sorts of strange and wild Beasts; two thousand Gladiators were match'd, who slew each other to give the Spectators Delight; and in *Pompey's* Theatre were such variety of Shews and Games, as lasted three Days, and as many Nights, without Intermiſſion; where were such innumerable Company of Lights, that the People cou'd see as well at Midnight as at Noon-day. But towards the latter End of these famous Sports, *Pompey's* Theatre accidentally took Fire, and the greatest Part of that glorious Edifice was consum'd, together with some other Magnificent Buildings near it, before it cou'd be extinguish'd. Upon the Occasion of these great Games, we are told,

Ludi Seculares.

A. D.

247.

told, That both *Philip* and his Son were converted to *Christianity*; and that the Father being baptiz'd by Pope *Fabian*, after Confession of his Sins, was admitted to the Sacrament. *Eusebius* intimates that *Philip* going on the *Vigils* of *Easter* with the rest of the *Christians* into the Church or Assembly, to be present at their Prayers, the Bishop of the Place wou'd by no means suffer him, unless he wou'd make publick Confession of his Sins, and pass through the Order of the Penitents, because of his being guilty of many heinous and enormous Crimes, to which he readily submitted. Some attribute his Conversion to the Endeavours of *Origen*; and others say, That he only fain'd his Religion, to make the *Christians* to joyn with him against the Pretensions of *Decius*. But none of these having any certain Foundation, we cannot call *Philip* the first *Christian* Emperor, as some have done.

Philip thus reigning in a peaceable Possession of the Empire, the *Goths*, who had been repell'd by *Gordian*, again pass'd through *Mæsia* into the Province of *Thrace*, burning many Cities and Towns in their March. Against whom the Emperor sent *Marinus*, a Person very valiant and expert in Wars; who when he was settled in his Charge, by the Favour and Assistance of his own Soldiers, and of the ordinary Legions of *Illyricum*, he resolv'd to Rebel, and to make himself Emperor, holding it lawful to betray him who had been a Traytor to another, and was accordingly sworn and proclaim'd Emperor by the Army. Upon which *Philip* was in a great Consternation; and in great Fear complain'd to the Senate of the Ingratitude and Presumption of *Marinus*: But his Successor, *Decius*, then present, with much Assurance told him, That his Presumption wou'd

Marinus proclaim'd Emperor by his Army,

and Slain.

*Decius made
Emperor by
the Army.*

very shortly be his Ruin, which prov'd true: For, within a few Days after, the same Army that chose *Marinus*, being dissatisfi'd with his Behaviour and Carriage towards them, were as ready to take his Life, as to give him the Empire; and accordingly they slew him. Upon notice of this, *Philip* remembring what *Decius* had said in the Senate, gave him the Charge and Command of the Army against the *Goths*, with a considerable Augmentation of Men, Money, and Provisions. *Decius* was a Man of extraordinary Wisdom and Experience, and sufficiently able to discharge that Office; so that when he arriv'd at the Camp, all the Soldiers, as well for the Worth of his Person, as their Fear of being punish'd by *Philip* for their former Crimes, resolv'd to chuse him Emperor; and by constraint and against his Will they oblig'd Him to take upon him the Title and Dignity of Emperor. *Decius* seeing himself thus unexpectedly advanc'd, for his future Security, us'd this piece of Policy: He sent a secret Messenger with all speed to acquaint *Philip*, That being violently compell'd by his Army, he had unwillingly assum'd the Title of Emperor, but accounted no Man Emperor but him; therefore he hop'd that he wou'd not be offended at his Carriage, assuring him, That as soon as he cou'd possibly get any Liberty, he wou'd utterly renounce that Title, and all Pretensions to Sovereignty. By this Contrivance *Decius* hop'd to prevent *Philip's* making any Preparations against him, till he might strengthen his own Interest so far as to be in a Condition to defend himself; but *Philip* was too well acquainted with Human Artifices to rely upon such Promises; therefore in a great Rage he resolv'd to March against him in Person. In Order to which, he sent for the Standing Legions out of several Provinces,

vinces, and made new Levies, threatning with many Oaths and Curses, to cut Decius and all his rebellious Legions in Pieces; and in this Manner departed from Rome, commanding his Soldiers with such Anger and Haughtiness, as made him odious to his Army. So that they esteeming Decius more Worthy of the Empire than he, before they left Italy, in the City of Verona, they openly proclaim'd Decius, and setting violently upon him, they cut off his Head, or rather cleav'd it in sunder, just by his upper Row of Teeth. This was the deserved Death of Philip, the Twenty ninth Emperor of Rome, after a Reign of about five Years; a Person who lost his Life and Empire by the same treasonable Means that he obtain'd it, and likewise by the same Soldiers; his Death being also succeeded by that of his melancholy Son in Rome, who was slain by the Praetorian Soldiers, for having only the Title of Emperor; and since by reason of his Youth he could not have the Authority of Emperor, I have not reckon'd him as such. The Death of Philip hapned in the 1002d Year of the City, 249 after our Saviour's Nativity, and 56 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

The Death
of Philip.

V. Soon after the Death of Philip, and his Son, Decius without Contradiction was acknowledg'd and confirm'd Emperor, not only by his own Soldiers, but also by the Senate, by all the Provinces, and the Armies, who gave him the Title of *Augustus*. He was now about Forty seven Years of Age, and was born in a City, call'd *Cabali*, in the Lower Pannonia or Hungary, of a Noble and Ancient Family; having held many Offices and Dignities before he attain'd to the Empire. As soon as his Election was confirm'd,

A. D.

249.

Decius made
Emperor.

he left *L. Valerian*, a wife and experienc'd Commander, for General of all his Forces, and return'd to *Rome*; where he shew'd himself so brave and active in Regulation, so sagacious and politick in Administration, and became so universally acceptable by his modest and excellent Carriage, that by the Sentence of the Senate he was voted not inferior to *Trajan*, and had likewise the Title of *Optimus* given to him. He shew'd a great Veneration for the Senate, and in a particular Manner preserv'd the Authority of that venerable Assembly; following their Advice and Counsel in all Matters of Government. And among other Things, he permitted them to chuse a *Censor* at their Pleasure, which was an ancient Magistracy of great Authority, whose Office was to correct the Manners and Customs, and to reform the Abuses and Disorders of the People, and therefore had Supreme Jurisdiction over all Men: And this Office, from the time that *Rome* became subject to one Person, was generally usurp'd by the Emperors, who made themselves *Censors* at their Pleasure. Upon this Permission of *Decius*, the Senate made Choice of his General *Valerian* for *Censor*, notwithstanding he was then Absent; and moreover, without any Request made by the Emperor; they nominated his Son, *Decius*, for *Caesar*, and his Successor.

Young *Decius*
made *Caesar*.

But though this Emperor gain'd such great Applauses from his Behaviour in general, yet he exceedingly stain'd and blacken'd his Reputation by his bloody Severities towards the *Christians*; against whom, in the first Year of his Reign, he rais'd the sharpest and most dreadful Persecution, that had ever yet afflicted and oppress'd the Church. This was the Seventh General Persecution

cution of the *Christians*, which broke out about fifteen Years after the beginning of the Sixth Persecution under *Maximinus*. Some Writers suppose this Persecution to have proceeded from *Decius's* Hatred to his Predecessor *Philip*, for being a *Christian*, or at least a great Favourer of that Religion; but others more truly ascribe it to his Zeal for the Cause of declining *Paganism*, which he saw fatally undermined by the wonderful Progress of *Christianity*, and that therefore there was no way to support the one, but by the Ruin of the other. For above a Year and a half this Storm was very black and violent, and no Place in the Empire but felt the dreadful Effects of it. The *Christians* were in all Places driven from their Habitations, spoil'd in their Estates, tormented in their Bodies; Racks and Prisons, Fines and wild Beasts, scalding Pitch and melted Wax; sharp Stakes and burning Pincers, were but some of the Methods of their Treatment; and when the former were run over, new were daily invented and contrived. The Laws of Nature and Humanity were troden under foot; Friend betray'd his Friend, Brother his Brother, and Children their Fathers; every Person being ambitious to promote the Imperial Edicts, and thinking it meritorious to bring a *Christian* to the Stake. This Persecution swept away infinite Numbers, among the rest, *Fabian*, Bishop of *Rome*; *Babylas*, Bishop of *Antioch*; and *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*; *Nicephorus* affirming it to be easier to count the Sands of the Sea-shore, than to reckon up all the Martyrs that suffer'd under this Persecution. Besides, an innumerable Company were beaten, imprison'd, and tormented, among which *Origen* was one; and a greater Number betook themselves to voluntary Exile;

The seventh general Persecution.

A. D.

250.

choſing rather to commit themſelves to the Barrenneſs of Rocks and Mountains, and the Mercy of wild Beaſts, than to thoſe who had diveſted themſelves of all Reason and Humanity. Among theſe latter, was *Paul of Thebais*, a Youth of fourteen Years of Age, who withdrew himſelf into the Deſerts of *Egypt*, and took up his Abode and Reſidence in a convenient Cavern in a Rock, leading for ninety eight Years a ſolitary and anchoretick Life, and became the Father of Hermits, and all ſuch as afterwards reſign'd themſelves to Solitude, and a more ſtrict mortifi'd Life. Towards the latter end of this Perſecution, the Emperor *Decius* took a Journey into *Syria*, to eſtabliſh the Affairs of the *East*; and at *Antioch*, having unjuſtly ſlain a little Son of an *Eastern* King, depos'd for an Hoſtage, he attempted to enter the *Chriſtian* Congregation there; but the above-nam'd *Babylas*, Biſhop of this City, ſtood at the Door, and with an undaunted Bravery told him, *That he wou'd never willingly permit a Wolf to break in upon Chriſt's Sheepfold.* This ſo exaſperated the Emperor, that he immediately after ſent for *Babylas*, and ſharply expoſtulating with him for the Inſolency of the Fact, he commanded him, and many others, to ſuffer Martyrdom; ſo that no Part of the Empire was free from the Effects of his bloody Commands.

This Perſecution was attended and ſucceeded by many Miſeries to the Empire, and by great Wars and Devaſtations from the *Goths*, and other Barbarous Nations, which occaſion'd *Decius* to make ſpeedy Preparations to oppoſe them in *Thrace* and *Mæſia*, where they had been moſt ſucceſſful. For the more effectual ſuppreſſing of them he reſolv'd to go in Perſon, and to oblige the

the Senate, he left the Government in their Hands; and taking his Son along with him, he march'd toward the Enemy, and within a few Days after he join'd Battel with those furious People; which in the Beginning was very doubtful and bloody, but at last he gain'd the Victory, and slew 30000; constraining the rest to fly to the Mountains, and other Places of difficult Access, not daring to come down into the Plains: Which reduc'd them to that Extremity, that he might easily have ruin'd them, had he not been prevented by the Infidelity of his own Commanders. For the King of the *Goths* by an Embassy let him understand, *That if he wou'd give him leave to depart peaceably, he wou'd abandon all the Roman Dominions, and return to his own Country.* But the Emperor having possess'd himself of all the Passes, imagining that he might easily destroy them, or make them Prisoners, and so punish their former Breach of Articles, wou'd not yield to the King's Proposals. Having at last reduc'd them to such Extremity, that they cou'd not escape out of his Hands, he gave Orders to an Eminent Commander call'd *Trebonianus Gallus*, Governor of the Frontiers of *Mæsia*, carefully to guard certain Passes, through which the *Goths* design'd to march; and that he might effectually secure them, he gave him the Command of a powerful Party of Men. But *Gallus* being ambitious of making himself Emperor, and by such Methods as were often us'd before, not only discharg'd his Office negligently, but gave secret Intelligence to the King of the *Goths*, *That he wou'd let him pass quietly; advising him withal, To divide his Army into two Parts, with one half to lay in Ambush, and with the other to attack the Emperor's Camp, who suspected no such Attempt; and then, faining a*

The Death
of Decius.

Flight, so to retire, as to draw the Emperor into his Ambuscade, where he might undoubtedly destroy him. Authors do not exactly agree in the Relation of this private Contract; but however, the Treason of Gallus so far succeeded, that Decius was brought to engage the Goths with the greatest Disadvantage, and yet continu'd Fighting with extraordinary Valour and Bravery. In a short time young Decius, being mortally wounded with an Arrow, fell from his Horse in the sight of his Father the Emperor, who immediately cry'd out to his Soldiers, *Not to be discourag'd; for the Death of one Knight would be no Prejudice to the State or the Battel.* But at length foreseeing his Ruin, and that the Goths had apparently the Victory, that he might not fall into the Enemy's Hands, he clapt his Spurs to his Horse, and rode furiously into a deep Lake or Bog, where by reason of the weight of his Armour, he was soon swallow'd up, and his Body never cou'd be found. And this was the miserable Death of Decius, the thirtieth Emperor of Rome, on the 50th year of his Age, after a short Reign of two Years and six Months; a Prince excellent in all things but in Relation to the Christians, the Blood of whom not only fell upon Him, his Son, and his whole Army, but also upon the whole Roman Empire besides, by Means of the Inundations of the Goths and other barbarous Nations, which at this time might have been easily suppress'd, if not ruin'd by natural Means, if Providence had thought it fit. The Death of Decius happen'd in the 1004th Year of the City, 274 Years after the settlement of the Empire by Augustus, 251 after our Saviour's Nativity, 153 after the last of the Twelve Cæsars, and 58 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

VI. After

VI. After the Death of *Decius*, the *Goths* pursu'd their Victory, and made a miserable Slaughter in the *Roman Army* which was intirely defeated; and those that escaped, fled to the Legions commanded by *Gallus*, who as a Confederate with the *Goths*, was in safety: Therefore he us'd no Revenge for the Death of *Decius*, though he made great Pretences of that Kind, to conceal his odious Acts and Designs. He shew'd himself very industrious in strengthening and encouraging his Army, promising great Service against the barbarous *Goths*, till by his popular Actions he gain'd his Desire, and with the Applauses of the Soldiers was proclaim'd Emperor. Intelligence of this was soon brought to *Rome*, where the Senate and People were extremely concern'd, as well for the Death of *Decius*, as the Overthrow of the *Roman Army*; but understanding that *Gallus* was chosen Emperor, and that his Legions had secured those that escap'd from the Battel, they confirm'd his Election, and gave him the Name and Title of *Augustus*. *Gallus* was now about 45 years of Age, and descended of an honourable Family in *Rome*, which he much stain'd by his base and dishonourable Actions: For he not only design'd it by his treasonable Practices before he was Emperor; but after his Advancement he made a Peace with the *Goths*, the most shameful and dishonourable that ever the *Romans* made since the Foundation of the City; which was, That the *Romans* shou'd every Year constantly pay a considerable Tribute to the *Goths*. So that he might gain the Title of Emperor, he was content to make himself and the *Romans*, who were accounted Lords of all Nations, tributary and subject to a rude and barbarous People: So prevalent is Ambition,

A. D.
251.

*Gallus made
Emperor,*

bition, that it makes Men willing to be Slaves to some, that they may effectually command others. But the Successes of this Emperor prov'd according to the Merit of his Actions : For the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations, not satisfy'd with their advantageous Peace, broke it in a short time, and like a mighty Torrent came down upon the Provinces of *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, *Thessaly*, *Macedon*, and some Parts of *Asia*, practising all Kinds of Ravages, Devastations and Massacres : For all which he shew'd but little Regard. On the other side, the *Persians* in *Asia*, seeing the extraordinary Success of the *Goths*, enter'd with a great Power under their King *Sapor*, into the Provinces of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*; and then passing forwards, they subdu'd *Armenia*, and drove out *Tiridates* the King of that Country. But *Gallus* not much regarding these Troubles and Calamities Abroad, consum'd his Time in *Rome*, rather as a Slave to his own Voluptuousness, than a conquering Monarch ; taking for his Companion the Emperor his Son *Volusian*, though but a Child, and causing *Virtus Augustorum* to be stamp'd upon both their Coins, as if he had gain'd the Empire by Valour, and not Treachery. At the same time, to please and pacify the People of *Rome*, he adopted a yong Son of *Decius*; but shortly after caus'd him secretly to be poyson'd.

Who makes
his Son *Volu-*
sian his Part-
ner.

The last Per-
secution re-
viv'd.

That there might be nothing wanting to compleat the Miseries of the Empire, *Gallus* renew'd the *Decian* Persecution against the *Christians*, which had been much abated; resolving, as it were, to imitate his Predecessor in nothing but his Crimes. And this was immediately succeeded by a most dreadful Pestilence, which beginning in *Ethiopia* in the Confines of *Egypt*, from thence infected all the Provinces in the World,

con-

continuing several Years in an unheard of manner, and destroying incredible Numbers of People in every City in the Empire; from whence St. Cyprian, the famous Bishop of Carthage, took an Occasion to write that excellent Treatise, *De Mortalitate*. So that all the Reign of this wicked Emperor was unfortunate and deplorable; as well for the Loss of several Provinces to foreign Enemies, as other Calamities. He had only one considerable Victory in *Mæsia*, gain'd by his General *Æmilian* over the *Goths*; of which many thousands were slain, and the Pursuit follow'd for several Days. But this Victory was so far from being an Advantage to *Gallus*, that it soon after occasion'd his total Ruin; for *Æmilian* by this became so famous, and *Gallus* so contemptible, that the Soldiers, who were pleas'd with the Gifts and Promises of *Æmilian*, and ever affecting Changes and Novelties, proclaim'd him Emperor. The News of this soon rous'd *Gallus* from his soft Pleasures and Delights, who with all possible Expedition made great Preparations to oppose this dangerous Rival; and leaving *Rome*, carrying his Son with him, and a powerful Army, he march'd towards *Mæsia*. Here he was met by *Æmilian*, who boldly came to a Battel with him, and at length overthrew him, and slew both Him and his Son *Volusian*; the Soldiers all joining with the Conqueror. This was the deserved Death of *Trebonianus Gallus*, the thirty first Emperor of *Rome*, in the 47th Year of his Age, after a most unhappy Reign of two Years and four Months; a Prince who had no Excellency that we know; but by his abominable Practices and Wickedness, he brought innumerable Mischiefs and Calamities upon himself and the Empire; by which his Memory is become odious in History. He dy'd in the

Æmilian
proclaim'd
by the Sol-
diers.

The Death
of *Gallus* and
his Son.

the 1006th Year of the City, 253 Years after our Saviour's Nativity, and 60 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

A. D.
253.

The Death of
Emilian.

Valerian
made Em-
peror, and
his Son *Gallienus* *Cæsar.*

VII. *Emilian*, after his Victory over *Gallus*, began to look upon himself as real Emperor of *Rome*; and thereupon wrote to the Senate, sending them intelligence of his Success and Election, remembring them of the Negligence and Ill-Government of *Gallus*, and of the Provinces the *Roman* Empire had lost in his Reign; promising likewise to recover *Thrace* from the *Goths*, *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia* from the *Persians*, and to clear the Empire of all Enemies. But the Senate had no Regard to these Promises, and the Army on the *Alps* likewise oppos'd him, chusing for Emperor their own Commander *Valerian*; upon Notice of which, *Emilian's* Soldiers, mov'd with the great Reputation of *Valerian*, whom the Senate favour'd, to avoid Civil Wars, rose up against *Emilian* and slew him, after a short Reign, or rather Usurpation of about three Months. Some Writers rank him among the Number of Emperors; but because he was never establish'd in the Empire, nor his Title generally acknowledg'd, others more justly place him only among the Usurpers. Upon the Death of *Emilian*, *Valerian* was not only acknowledg'd and obey'd as Emperor by the Army, but likewise with great Applauses by the Senate, who at the same time gave to his Son *Gallienus*, then in the City, the Title of *Cæsar*, and Successor to his Father. *Valerian*, when he was chosen Emperor, he was about 70 Years of Age, which Time he had spent in great Fame and Reputation both under good and bad Emperors, by Reason of his Valour and other Vertues; and had attain'd so many Offices and Dignities;

Dignities ; particularly under *Decius* he was made Censor of *Rome*, as was before mention'd, and was highly esteem'd by that Emperor and the Senate, being also of a very ancient House and Family. Finally, in the whole course of his Life, before he arriv'd at the Empire, he was prosperous and fortunate in all his Acts ; so that all had great Hopes that this Emperor by his Wisdom and Experience wou'd repair all the Miseries and Calamities of these unhappy Times. And accordingly he set about many Regulations, and made Choice of nine Governours, and more particularly valiant and Experienced Commanders, whom he chose out of the chief of the Nobility.

The former Part of the Emperor's Reign was acceptable to all People, and he shew'd himself a great Patron of the *Christians*, whom he treated with all Offices of Kindness and Humanity, entertaining them in his own Family ; so that his Court seem'd to be a Church for Piety, and a Sanctuary for Refuge to good men. But towards the fourth year of his Reign this pleasant Scene vanished ; and seduc'd by an Arch-Magician of *Egypt*, who perswaded him, *That nothing cou'd so prosper the Affairs as the Restoration of the Pagan Rites, and the Suppression of Christianity, so hateful to the Gods*, he rais'd a terrible Persecution against the *Christians*, wherein they were treated with the utmost Fury and Barbarity throughout all Parts of the Empire. And this was the Eighth general Persecution of the Catholick Church, which broke out about Seven Years after the beginning of the Seventh under the Emperor *Decius*. *Dionysius of Alexandria* tells us, that it is needless to make a particular Enumeration of all the *Christians* that suffer'd

The Eighth general Persecution.

A. D.

257.

fer'd in this Persecution ; only 'tis observable, that both Men and Women, young and old, Soldiers and Rusticks, Persons of all Ranks and Ages, were some beaten and scourg'd, others beheaded, and others receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom, by overcoming the Violence of Flaming Furnaces. *St. Cyprian* passionately bewails the Miseries and Sufferings of the Martyrs in his Letter to *Nemesian*, and the rest that were Condemn'd to the Mines ; Nor did he himself escape, being beheaded at *Carthage*, as *Xistus* and *Quantus* had been before him, and tho 300 Martyrs *De Massa Candida*, who rather than Sacrifice to the Pagan Gods, cheerfully leapt into a vast Pit of burning Lime, kindled for that purpose, where they were stifled with the Smoke and Flame. In *Spain* suffer'd *Fruosus* Bishop of *Tarragon* ; at *Rome*, *Xistus* the Bishop, and *St. Laurence* his Deacon and Treasurer of that Church ; and at *Cæsarea*, *Priscus*, *Malchus* and *Alexander*, who asham'd to lye idle, while so many Herd's were contending for the Crown, unanimously offered themselves to the Judge ; and gladly received the Sentence of Martyrdom.

This Persecution continu'd the rest of the Reign of this Emperor, which was about two years, and gave a fatal Turn to all his Prosperity ; for Heaven being highly provoked with the many Persecutions of it's Faithful Servants, sent it's Scourges from the Northern Country, who came down in a more formidable Manner than ever ; and the Empire in all Parts began to be usurped by Traytors and Tyrants, to the great Danger of it's Dissolution. The Emperor himself was the principal Sufferer in these Calamities ; for after he had made some Resistance of the *Goths* and *Scythians*, he was obliged to turn all his Forces against Sa-

por King of *Persia*, who with a furious Progress ravaged *Syria*, *Silicia* and *Capadocia*. Coming into *Mesopotamia*, both Armies met, and a general Battel was expected; but it proved otherwise. For just before the intended Ingagement, *Valerian*, through the negligence, or as some believe, the Treachery of the General, was brought into a convenient Place without a sufficient Guard; where being surrounded by the *Persians*, and all the Passes possessed, without any great Resistance, he was taken Prisoner by *Sapor*, who carried this old Emperor into his own Country, and treated him with greater Indignities than the meanest Slave. For the Tyrannizing *Persian*, excessively swell'd with this prosperous Gale, made *Valerian* his Foot-Stool whenever he was disposed to take Horse; causing the greatest Monarch of the World, to whom all Nations paid Homage, to bow down his Neck for him to tread upon it when he mounted the Saddle; this was the miserable Fate of *Licinius Valerian*, the Thirty second Emperor of *Rome*, in the 76th Year of his Age, after a Reign of about six years; a Prince eminent for many remarkable Excellencies, who for many years wanted no kinds of Success and Prosperity, till he was at last met by the Judgment of Heaven which severely punished him for his Barbarous Cruelties to the *Christians*; and this was likewise a Punishment to the *Romans* themselves, who never received such a Signal Affront since the Foundation of their City. *Valerian* continued about seven years in this miserable Servitude, notwithstanding all the Writings, Intercessions, and Threats of the Chief Potentates in the World to procure his Release; and at length the insulting *Persian* caused his Eyes to be pulled out, and after that to be tread alive, and rubbed with Salt, according to

Agathus

Valerian led
into Captivi-
ty by *Sapor*
King of *Per-*
sia.

Ayubus, he being then about 83 Years of Age. This Remarkable Captivity of *Valerian*, hapned in 1012th year of the City, 282 years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 259 after our Saviours Nativity, 161 after the last of the twelve *Cæsars*, and 66 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

CHAP. VI.

From the Captivity of Valerian, and the beginning of the Thirty Tyrants, to the Resignation of Dioclesian, the Thirty ninth Emperor; when the Empire became first divided into Independent Parts

Containing the Space of about 45 Years.

Gallienus
made Em-
peror.

A. D.
259.

I. *V*alerian being taken Prisoner, all Persons expected that his Son *Gallienus* wou'd relieve him, and revenge the Affront; therefore the Senate conferr'd the Empire upon him, making him Sole Emperor, who in a great measure had that Authority before, he being now about 41 Years of Age. This Reign was the most confus'd and calamitous of all the preceeding; and Heaven and Earth seem'd equally to threaten the Ruin and Destruction of the Roman Empire. In the beginning of it the Sun was clouded and darkned, so that it did not appear for many Days: Strange and dismal Earth-Quakes overthrew Cities and Edifices, destroying great Numbers of People, and shaking the Lands so terribly, that the hidden Bowels of the Earth, and stupendious Caverns

verns were laid open, from whence flow'd vast
 Streams of Salt Water. The Sea over-swell'd it's
 Banks, and broke into many Continents, drown-
 ing Countries Cities and People; and so violent
 a Pestilence rag'd, that in *Rome* no less than 5000
 Persons died in a Day. These extraordinary Ca-
 lamities so moved *Gallienus* to Remorse, that think-
 ing to pacify the Wrath of the Divine Power,
 contrary to the Practices of former Emperors in
 these Circumstances, relax'd the Persecution a-
 gainst the *Christians*, sending forth his Edicts in
 favour of them: Besides these Calamities the
 whole Empire was dangerously Invaded on all
 Parts. The *Germans* overran *Rhætia* and the *Alps*,
 and pass'd into *Italy* as far as *Ravenna*; the *Alle-
mans* also wasted *Gaul*, and entred *Spain* to the
 City of *Tarragon*: The *Goths* and *Scythians* Ra-
 vag'd all *Pontus*, and a great part of lesser *Asia*;
 and in *Europe*, all *Greece*, *Macedonia*, and their Con-
 fines. *Dacia* beyond the *Danube* was totally lost
 to the *Quadi* and *Sarmatians*, who also seiz'd on
Pannonia; and the *Persians* and *Parthians*, having
 already gain'd *Mesopotamia*, posses'd themselves of
 a great Part of *Syria*. About the same time the
 Soldiers in all Parts electing their own Generals,
 advanc'd no less than Thirty at once; who assum-
 ing the Title of Emperors, are generally record-
 ed by the Name of *The Thirty Tyrants*; and as
 they were all opposite to each other, so they were
 often unanimous in the Ruin of *Gallienus*; by
 which means the *Roman Empire* was more severe-
 ly harass'd and oppress'd by it's own Forces than
 by Foreign Devastations: Only these Usurpers
 who were generally Valiant Men, did often
 defend and secure the Empire from the Barba-
 rous Nations, who seem'd in a capacity to over-
 whelm it.

Gallienus in the beginning of his Reign shew'd some Regard to the Publick, and particularly overthrew *Ingenius*, a valiant Commander in *Pannonia*, who had rebell'd, and assum'd the Title of Emperor, and likewise defeated the *Goths* in a Battel; in which Victories he us'd incredible Cruelties, destroying in one City all living Persons. But afterwards he gave himself up to Ease and Luxury; so that while the whole World was infested with Wars and Desolations, he generally continued at *Rome* among Concubines and Harlots, surrounded with Roses and other Flowers, inventing new Pleasures and Delights, often bathing himself, studying how he might preserve Figs and other Fruits green all the Year, and having ordinarily at his Table the most delicious and costly Meats imaginable. When it was told him that the Kingdom of *Egypt* had rebell'd against him, he made answer, *Cannot we live without the Linnen of Egypt?* Having lost *Gaul* by Usurpers, he carelessly replied, *Cannot the State be supported without the Soldiers Cassocks from thence?* Being informed of the Desolation of *Asia* by Earth-quakes and the *Scythian* Invasion, he without any concern said, *Cannot we subsist without Salt-Petre?* And being advertis'd of the Loss and Ruin of other Provinces, he always answer'd with so much Scorn and Negligence, as if he had utterly forgot his Office and Dignity. His extraordinary Carelessness and Disregard for the Publick, was the principal Reason that so many Tyrants and Usurpers made themselves Lords and Emperors in his Reign. Of all which we must give some little Account, tho' in a very imperfect and disorderly Method, by reason of the strange Confusion of Affairs, and the Obscurity and Brevity of the Writers of this Reign.

Valerian

Valerian being taken Prisoner, as was formerly mention'd, and his Son *Gallienus* using no Means for his Ransom or Revenge, the Commanders and Soldiers in the East were dispers'd with great Grief and Indignation for the Disgrace they had receiv'd. In this Exigency, *Balista*, General to *Valerian*, and an excellent Soldier and Commander, together with *Macrinus*, a person of singular Worth and Experience, assembling the Roman Legions and Cohorts, with the unanimous consent of all, they agreed to chuse an Emperor, to recover the Roman Dominions, and to set the old Emperor at Liberty, since *Gallienus* took no care of that Matter. And after many Consultations *Macrinus* was elected and obeyed as Emperor; and with him his two Sons, *Macrinus* and *Quintus*, were made his Equals and Companions in the Empire; and at the same time *Balista* made Praefect or General of his Army. *Macrinus* seeing himself made Emperor, and Powerful by Reason of the Armies of the East he march'd into the Confines of *Persia*, and in some Battles suppress'd the former Insolencies of that Nation. But fearing a valiant Commander called *Valens*, Proconsul of the Province of *Achaia* in Greece, he sent a considerable Army against him under the Command of *Piso* a Consular Person and a good Soldier, to seize on that Country, and so to pass into *Italy*. Which being understood by *Valens*, to encrease his Authority and Power he caused himself to be chosen Emperor, and assum'd the Imperial Ornaments and Ensigns; by which he drew such a Number of Men to his Party, that *Piso* was driven to retire with his Troops into *Thessaly*; where being reduc'd to some Extremities, he us'd his Enemies Policy, and like him, proclaim'd himself Emperor; but was soon after overthrown by

The Thirty Tyrants or Usurpers.

Macrinus, 1.
Macrinus Jun.

2.
Quintus, 3.

Valens, 4.

Piso, 5.

Valens Forces and slain. Nor did *Valens* long enjoy his Victory; for within a few Days after, his own Soldiers for some Discontents, conspir'd against him and slew him.

Macrinus, who now reigned Emperor in the East, receiving Intelligence of the Misfortunes of *Piso* and *Valens*, and not satisfied with his present Possession, resolv'd to March towards *Rome* with a considerable Army, to suppress some Usurpers in the West, as also the legal Emperor *Gallienus*. Therefore leaving behind him his Son *Quietus*, and *Balista*, with some choice Troops, to prevent other Usurpations in the East; he began his March with 45000 Men, and push'd through the lesser *Asia* into *Thrace* and *Achaia*, where he overthrew the *Goths*, who had made great Devastations in those Parts, and constrain'd them to retire. About the same time, or before, *Aureolus*; Commander of the Legions in *Illyrium* and *Palmatia*, was constrained by his Men to assume the Title of Emperor; and perceiving that *Macrinus* was entering his Province, he gathered all his Forces together, and in a bloody Battel, put an End to all his great Attempts, overthrowing and slaying both him and his Son *Macrinus*. Upon which 30000 of *Macrinus's* Soldiers went over to *Aureolus*, which so strengthened his Interest, that *Gallienus*, who was somewhat employed in suppressing other Usurpers, was content to enter into Articles with him, and make a Peace, which continu'd firm most of his Reign. But while *Macrinus* was pursuing his unsuccessful Attempts, *Odenatus*, a famous Prince of *Palmerine*, a Province in *Syria*, seeing all things in Confusion in the Empire, presum'd to take upon him the Title and Condition of Emperor, imparting likewise that Dignity

Aureolus, 6.

Odenatus, 7.
Herod, 8.

ty to *Herod*, his Eldest Son by his first Wife. This Usurpation prov'd both honourable and advantageous to the Empire, for he perform'd many noble Exploits against *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who detain'd *Valerian* Prisoner, gain'd many Battels, recover'd all *Mesopotamia*, with the great Cities of *Nisibe* and *Carras*, forc'd *Sapor* to fly before him, took his Wives, his Riches, and Treasure, and march'd up to the very Walls of *Ctesiphon*. But as his principal Designs were against *Macrinus*, and his Son, he sent a great Present of the Jewels and noble Prisoners, he had taken from the *Persians*, to *Gallienus* at *Rome*; who when he cou'd not eclipse the Merit of *Odenatus* by Virtue, or suppress it by Valour, sought to deface it by Treachery; but failing of his Designs, out of Fear he made him his Partner in the Empire; and *Odenatus* receiv'd the Title of *Augustus*, both from *Gallienus* and the Senate. At which Time *Gallienus* being not asham'd to triumph over the *Persians*, who detain'd his Father Prisoner, and to lead them Captive in a Mock-show, some satyrical Persons mix'd themselves with the Prisoners, and viewing their Faces, demanded *Where was the Emperor's Father?* Which so incens'd *Gallienus*, that he commanded them all to be burnt alive.

Odenatus understanding the Death of *Macrinus*, and his Son, he turn'd his Forces against *Quietus*, the youngest Son, who was left with *Balista*; and was so successful as to put an End to his Authority and Life together; and also did the same to *Balista*, who for a while had likewise commanded as Emperor; by which means *Odenatus* without Contradiction remain'd Emperor over all the Provinces in the *East*, and was fear'd by all the Princes in the World. But he liv'd

Balista, 9.

Maonius, 10.

Zenobia, 11.

Herennianus,

12.

Timolaus, 13.

not long in this Prosperity, for his Kinsman, *Maonius*, hoping to gain the same Power and Authority, treacherously brought about the Death of him, and his Son *Herod*, and made himself Emperor, though but for a short time; for the same Soldiers that were Assistants to him in his Treason, likewise destroy'd him: *Zenobia*, Wife to *Odenatus*, remaining a Widow, with her two young Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, took upon her the Government, and began to Rule with a Masculine Courage and Conduct, shewing such Wisdom and Valour, as is almost incredible; and to the great Disgrace of *Gallienus*, and his Successor, *Claudius*, she enjoy'd the Title of *Augusta*, and the Empire of the *East* for many Years; on one Side warring against the mighty *Persians*, and on the other, defending her self against all the Power of *Rome*. All Writers take some Notice of the Virtues and Accomplishments of this Princess, particularly her Continence, which was so remarkable, that she was never familiar with her Husband after Conception; nor yet twice, till she knew by natural Signs, whether she had conceiv'd or not. She was extraordinary learned in many Arts and Languages, and had her self abridg'd the *Alexandrian*, and all the Oriental Histories, whereby she attain'd the highest Pitch both of Wisdom and Authority; being liberal and temperate in all Things, somewhat severe, yet very merciful. Only she was ambitious, and boasted that she was descended in one Line from *Cleopatra* and the *Ptolomys* of *Aegypt*, and in another from the mighty *Semiramis*, Queen of *Babylon*; and in all Things acted as if she had been Empress of the World. But *Gallienus*, who fear'd *Odenatus*, at first despis'd *Zenobia*; but she soon let him understand his Error by her frequent overthrowing

overthrowing his Forces, particularly those under the Command of *Heracianus*. About the same time, *Emilian*, Commander of the Legions in *Egypt*, after some Tumults and Struggles, in Imitation of many others, proclaim'd himself Emperor, and with great Courage and Boldness seiz'd on that ancient Kingdom. But as these Buildings had but a weak Foundation, so a small Force, and a few Storms overwhelm'd them, which was effected by a Commander sent by *Gallienus*, call'd *Theodatus*, who us'd such Methods that his Friends failing him, he was by him apprehended, and afterwards put to Death in Prison. *Emilian, 14.*

While Affairs thus pass'd in the *East*, the other Provinces of the Empire were in no less Confusion, being extremely infested and harass'd with Wars and Usurpers; *Gallienus* in the mean time solacing himself in *Rome*, contenting himself with *Italy*, which was the only Province that remain'd firm to him, the rest sometimes paying, and other times denying their Obedience. In these general Commotions, *Africk* also made some Alterations, occasion'd by *Pomponianus*, the Commander of the Legions, and *Passienus*, Proconsul of the Province, who made Choice of a Tribune, call'd *Celsus*, a Person highly esteem'd for his Virtues and Accomplishments, and proclaim'd him Emperor. But this poor Prince's Authority lasted but seven Days, being put to Death by the Means of *Gallienus's* Kinswoman, *Galliena*, dwelling in those Parts, and great Indignities offer'd to his Body. After which, *Africk* was free from Usurpers in this Reign, but not from Tumults and Confusions. About the same time, *Regillianus*, Commander of the Legions about *Pannonia*, and the adjacent Provinces, was by the Consent *Celsus, 15.*

Regillianus,
16.

Ingenuus, 17.

Censorinus, 18.

Trebellianus,
19.

of his Army, and the Inhabitants of those Parts proclaim'd Emperor; for they were highly incens'd against *Gallienus* for his Cruelties in these Countries, when he suppress'd *Ingenuus*, formerly mention'd, who was also one of the Thirty Ufurpers. *Regillianus* did great Service against the *Sarmatians*, but was at length Slain by the *Roxolani* or *Russians*, with the Consent of the Soldiery and Peasants, who fear'd that *Gallienus* wou'd exercise new Cruelties. And here it is observable, That all the Commanders that *Valerian* made, were in his Son's Reign call'd Emperors; among which was *Censorinus*, a Person who had been Consul, and held other Offices and Dignities, but underwent the same Fate that almost all the rest did, being Slain by the same Soldiers that proclaim'd him. *Trebellianus* met with a different Treatment, though no less fatal; for being proclaim'd Emperor by the *Isauri* in *Asia Minor*, *Gallienus* sent an *Egyptian* Commander, call'd *Gansisoleus* against him, who defeated him in a bloody Battel, and slew him, but cou'd not reduce the *Isauri*, who by reason of their inaccessible Country, were often in Rebellion afterwards.

During these Confusions and Distractions in the *Eastern* and *Southern* Parts of the Empire, *Gaul* and the *Western* Parts were no less harrafs'd with intestine Convulsions, as well as foreign Devastations. *Posthumus*, a valiant Commander, was General in *Gaul*, a Person of great Reputation with *Valerian*, and so much esteem'd by *Gallienus*, that at his first Arrival at the Empire, he sent him his Son *Saloninus*, whom he intitled *Cæsar*, to be instructed and educated by him: But afterwards seeing the Neglect and ill Government of his Father *Gallienus*, partly through the Inhabitants

tants Compulsion, and partly by Means of his own Ambition, *Saloninus* was Slain, and *Posthumus* proclaim'd Emperor, who with great Courage and Conduct soon made himself Master of all *Gaul*, which he govern'd for seven Years, defending it from all the Insults of barbarous Nations who were ready to devour it, in which his Valour was so remarkable, that he was stil'd, *The Gallick Hercules*. The Success of *Posthumus* sours'd *Gallienus* from his voluptuous Life, that he march'd against him in Person, with two excellent Commanders, one call'd *Theodosius*, and the other *Claudius*; and investing a City where *Posthumus* was lodg'd, the *Gauls* so well defended the City, and *Gallienus* himself being wounded with an Arrow, he was constrain'd to raise the Siege, and likewise to make Peace with *Aureolus* in *Illyricum*, which was mention'd before. But all this was not sufficient to suppress the Power of *Posthumus*, who was now supported by an excellent young Commander, call'd *Victorinus*, whom *Posthumus* made his Equal and Companion in the Empire; by whose Diligence and Assistance, he defended himself, and protracted the War, having sometimes prosperous, and other times adverse Fortune. However, *Gallienus* returning to *Rome*, as though he had made a full Conquest of *Gaul*, enter'd in a Solemn Triumph, giving himself up to his former Course of Life and Pleasures. Here he daily receiv'd News of Comotions, Revolts, Incursions, Devastations, and Usurpations, in many Parts of the Empire; for all which he seem'd not much concern'd: And when he was inform'd of his Father *Valerian's* great Torments and Death in *Persia*, he coldly alluding to *Xenophon's* Speech upon the Death of his Son, replied, *I knew my Father*
was

was liable to Death and Miseries as well as other Persons.

Posthumus Junior, 22.

Lollianus, 23.

Victoria, 24.

Victorinus Junior, 25.

Posthumus now living in great Prosperity, together with his Son *Posthumus*, whom he first made *Cæsar*, and then *Augustus*, and his Companion in the Empire; he govern'd *Gaul* and the adjacent Parts with remarkable Justice and Severity. But the *Gauls*, desirous of Change and Novelty, revolted from him, and chose an experienced Commander, call'd *Lollianus*, for Emperor; and these two warring against each other, *Posthumus* and his Son were Slain by him and the *Gauls*. *Lollianus* remaining Emperor in those Parts, notwithstanding he was valiant and powerful, yet he cou'd not assume the same Authority that *Posthumus* had, since his Election was not so universal, and *Victorinus* the Associate of *Posthumus* possess'd a considerable Part of the Country, and was still call'd Emperor. *Victorinus* was generally govern'd by the new Counsels of his Mother *Victoria* or *Victorina*, who for her great Valour and Masculine Courage, was call'd, *Mother of Armies*; and by her Assistance he oppos'd *Lollianus*, and in a sharp Battel defeated him, and slew him, remaining sole Emperor of *Gaul*, together with his Mother, who was now associated with him, and call'd *Augusta*. *Victorinus* was an excellent Prince, but given to Luxury, which was the Cause of his Ruin; for taking away a Soldier's Wife from him, he was Slain by means of his Treason near *Agrippina* or *Cologn*; which being understood by his Mother, by the Assistance of some of her Friends, she proclaim'd his Son, *Victorinus*, Emperor: But the Fury of the Soldiers was such, that they soon slew the Son as they had done the Father. However *Victoria* wou'd not recede from her Authority and Ambition,

to

to support her self, by Means of her Favourites, she procur'd *Tetricus*, a Senator of *Rome*, who had some Command in *Gaul*, to proclaim himself Emperor, and to make his Son *Tetricus* his Companion, which he did, and prov'd an excellent and valiant Prince, making himself Lord of all *Gaul*, and the greatest Part of *Spain*, obtaining great Victories against the *Northern Nations*, and reigning long after the Death of *Gallienus*. In the mean time *Gallienus* enjoy'd *Rome* and all *Italy*, which never revolted from him, while the Tyrants or Usurpers by Turns generally destroy'd each other, or else were Slain by their own Soldiers, only some few continu'd in succeeding Reigns. Of the Thirty, we have mention'd all but three, which were *Cyriades*, who before *Va-* *Cyriades*, 28.
lerian's Captivity was proclaim'd Emperor by the *Persians*, and soon after destroy'd; *Saturninus*, *Saturninus*, 29.
 who not long after his Election was Slain by his own Soldiers; and *Marius* a Smith, who in seven Days was dispatch'd by a Sword of his own forging. *Marius*, 30.

Through all the Parts and Provinces of the Empire were committed infinite Murders, Robberies, Desolations, Insolencies, and all Kinds of Barbarities, Tyrannies and Treasons, accompany'd with an innumerable Company of other unheard of Miseries and Calamities; and all in a great measure occasion'd by the Negligence, Vices and Cruelties of *Gallienus*, which render'd him both despicable to his Subjects, and insupportable to the Empire. Insomuch that his own Captains and Commanders, finding him incapable of defending the State, resolv'd upon his Ruin; and in the Conspiracy, *Heracianus* and *Martian*, two of his principal Commanders, were involv'd, being not long after prevented with a fair Opportunity for

The Death
of Gallienus:

for that Purpose. For the Peace being broke between *Gallienus* and *Aureolus*, one of the foremention'd Usurpers, the latter fearlessly enter'd *Italy* it self, and took the City of *Mediolanum* or *Milan*; which caus'd *Gallienus* to oppose him with a powerful Army, and to besiege him in that City. During this Siege, *Martian* and the rest of the Conspirators, who had agreed with *Aureolus*, pretended that they had private Intelligence. That *Aureolus* was design'd to make a sudden Sally upon that Quarter where *Gallienus* was lodg'd: Whereupon *Gallienus* with greater Hast than Discretion, left his Post smally accompany'd; so that before the rest of his Guards cou'd be gather'd together, he was slain by these Conspirators, together with a Brother of his, nam'd *Valerian*. This was the deserved End of *Licinius Gallienus*, whom we call the Thirty third Emperor of *Rome*, in the 50th Year of his Age, after an ignominious Reign of about nine years after his Father's Captivity; a Person who not only brought Shame and Death to himself by his Cruelties and Enormities, but likewise greater Miseries and Calamities upon the *Roman* State than ever were known since the Foundation of the City. He dy'd 1021st Year of the City, 291 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 268 after our Saviour's Nativity, 170 after the last of the twelve *Cæsars*, and 75 after the publick Sale of the Empire; leaving all the *East* subject to *Zenobia*, *Gaul* and the *West* to *Tetricus* and *Victorinus*, *Illyrium* to *Aureolus*, and *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and part of *Asia Minor* to the *Goths* and *Scythians*.

A. D.
268.

II. The Death of *Gallienus* prov'd a great Ease and Advantage to the *Roman* Empire, and gave a general Satisfaction to all except his Soldiers, who expecting

expecting the Riches and Plunder of *Mediolanum*, were so intrag'd, that *Martian* and the Conspirators were oblig'd to assuage them with a considerable Sum of present Money; so that none of their Company durst presume to take upon him the Title of Emperor, as was expected. In the mean time *Flavius Claudius*, by the unanimous Consent of all was proclaim'd Emperor; and being a Person of great Vertues and Renown, his Election was joyfully confirm'd by the Senate and People of *Rome* with infinite Blessings and Applauses. We are not fully assur'd of his Lineage and Country; for some affirm, That he was born in *Dalmatia*, and was descended of an ancient Family; others, That he was of *Dardania*; and descended from the Blood of the *Trojans*; and others, That he was the Son of the Emperor *Gordian*. However, we are assur'd, That he was a Person of extraordinary Valour and Bravery, and that he had perform'd excellent Service against *Posthumus* in *Gaul*, and against the *Goths* and other barbarous Nations in many Parts. He had a very strong Body, and a vigorous Mind, was eminent for his Vertues and excellent Parts; he was chaste and continent, moderate and temperate, and just and upright, both before and after he was Emperor; only he was somewhat severe to the *Christians*. He was a just Judge, a Lover of Strangers, severe to the Wicked, but most kind to the Vertuous: He made excellent Laws and Ordinances, and in a very short time reform'd the Commonwealth; so that in his short Reign there was a great Change of Affairs, and he prov'd a mighty Prop and Support to a declining Empire.

The first Expedition undertaken by this Emperor was against *Aureolus* in *Mediolanum*, who understanding

The Death
of Aureolus.

derstanding the Death of Gallienus, chang'd the course of his Affairs, expecting to become Sole Emperor himself. But Claudius reinforcing his Army, had several Engagements with Aureolus, and gain'd one memorable Victory over him, which constrain'd him to retire unto the Walls of *Mediolanum*; from whence he Sought to come to some Composition with Claudius, as he had done with Gallienus: But Claudius, as a vertuous and victorious Prince, would not hearken to any Agreement with a Tyrant and Usurper, and return'd him Answer, *That such Propositions might have been suitable to the Temper of Gallienus, who stood in Fear of Aureolus; but for himself, he was resolv'd to do nothing mean and unprincely; but wou'd make him understand his Duty.* Aureolus was afterwards slain, as some say, by his own Soldiers; and as others, by Claudius's Command, fighting at the foot of a Bridge. By his Death Claudius became Master of his Army, and of all the Countries that he possess'd; and returning with these Successes to Rome, he was there receiv'd with great Triumphs and Feastings, and settled the Affairs of the Publick with all imaginable Prudence and Justice. His principal Care and Study was to restore the Empire to his former Strength and Liberty, and to recover all that was lost, being ready to expose himself to all Kinds of Dangers; and upon that Occasion, it was seriously debated in the Senate which War should be undertaken first, and whether the Emperor should go against *Tetricus* in Gaul, or *Zenobia* in the East, or else the *Goths* and other Nations, which had infested and possess'd several Parts of the Empire? But the good Emperor soon resolv'd their Doubts, declaring, *That he wou'd first march against the Goths, and other barbarous Nations, for they were*

Enemies

Enemies to the Commonwealth ; but the Usurpers were only Enemies to Him : Therefore he was oblig'd to revenge a publick Wrong before a private Injury. Which generous Resolution being highly approv'd by the Senate and People, he with all possible Diligence rais'd the greatest Army that was ever levy'd for such a War ; for which there was the greatest Necessity , since these Nations had for fourteen Years possess'd many Parts of the Empire, and destroy'd many great and famous Cities ; and notwithstanding they had been sometimes overthrown in Gallienus's Reign by Macrinus, Avitus, and this present Emperor Claudius, yet still they possess'd all Thrace, a great Part of Macedonia, and other Provinces. These People had a great Hatred to Learning ; and pillaging the City of Athens, they heap'd together a vast Pile of Books to burn, but were advis'd by one to forbear, That the Grecians Spending their Time on them , might be the less capable of War.

Not long before Claudius undertook this War, the Goths, out of Desire of Spoil and Plunder, to revenge former Losses, and expecting Claudius shou'd be employ'd against Tetricus and other Pretenders, perswaded many Northern People and Nations to come down upon the Romans. And joining themselves with the Heruli, the Trutangi, the Virtungi, and other unciviliz'd Nations, to the Number of above 300000 fighting Men, besides Servants, Women and Children ; they came down the River Danube with 2000 Ships fraught with Men and Ammunition, in such a formidable Manner, as made the Empire to tremble. Only the invincible Emperor remain'd fearless, and with a brave Army march'd against these fierce People ; and being ready to come to an Engagement, he wrote the Senate a short Letter to this Effect :

Claudius's Expedition against the Goths.

Effect: *I am now ready to engage with three hundred and twenty Thousand Men, who have enter'd the Empire; which if I vanquish, I shall deserve your Thanks. If I fail, I hope you will remember that I fight after the Reign of Gallienus, who has enervated the State and Government; and the Usurpations of many ambitious Persons, who in Contempt to Him became Traytors to their Country. Our Gallick and Spanish Sword-Men, the Sinews of our Strength, are taken up in the West by Tetricus; and our Archers, to our great shame, by Zenobia in the East: So that, wanting all Necessaries, whatsoever we successfully perform must be accounted Great.* Notwithstanding these Inconveniences and Difficulties, *Claudius* boldly advanc'd towards the Enemy, and coming to a Battel, by his extraordinary Valour and Conduct, he overthrew these barbarous Nations, and made an incredible Slaughter of them; which was one of the greatest and noblest Victories that was ever gain'd by the *Romans*, in which were slain and taken Prisoners 300000 Men, and 2000 Ships loaden with Ammunition; so that whole Houses were fill'd to their Tops with Targets, Shields, Swords and Launces, and other Habiliments of War, of all which the Emperor gave an Account by Writing to the City. In this Battel were taken many Barbarous Kings, and other Persons of the highest Rank among them; and the Prisoners were so numerous, that no Province nor City in the Empire was without many of them for Slaves.

After this famous Victory, *Claudius* pursuing his Advantages, in *Thrace* near *Bizantium*, and in *Macedonia* near *Thessalonica*, he had several Engagements with the *Goths*, who were possess'd of those Provinces; in which he was so fortunate, and the Enemy were so overthrown and vanquish'd, that the Empire was restor'd to its former

mer Bounds in those Parts ; and for a considerable Time the *Goths* were unable to make any Opposition or Resistance against the Empire. From hence this Emperor pass'd with his victorious Army against the revolted *Germans* , over which he gain'd a memorable and glorious Victory, near the Lake *Benacus* , or *Garda* , the Enemy being near 200000 strong. And thus having re-establish'd the *Roman* Power, and freed the Empire from all Foreigners, he next determin'd to march against his two puissant Rivals, *Tetricus* and *Zenobia* ; but coming near *Sirmium* in *Pannonia* , he was there seiz'd with a pestilential Fever, which in a few Days put an End to all his great Designs, to the unexpressible Grief of all true *Romans*. Thus *Claudius* dy'd a natural Death, after a short, but glorious Reign of one Year, ten Months and fifteen Days ; being the thirty fourth Emperor of *Rome* , and a Prince so sublimely excellent, that the Moderation of *Augustus* , the Valour of *Trajan* , and the Piety of *Antoninus* , are said to have all center'd in him. He made a vast Progress towards the Re-establishing a tottering Empire ; and the Senate not only gave him Divine Honours, but likewise the People erected him a Statue of Gold ten Foot high in the Capitol ; and a Target of the same Metal, by the Senate's appointment was hung up in the Court. There was also by general Consent a Pillar erected and compos'd of the Prows of Ships , upon which was plac'd his Statue of 1500 Pound weight of Silver, representing him in his Consular Robes. He dy'd in the 1023d Year of the City, and 270 Years after our Saviour's Nativity ; in which time flourish'd *Longinus* , a great Favourite of *Zenobia* , and a most excellent Orator and Critick ; and *Porphyry* , a Jew by Descent, first a *Christian* , and after-

The Death
of *Claudius*.

wards an Apostate; but a most acute Philosopher.

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Quintillus
made Em-
peror.

His Death.

Aurelian
made Em-
peror.

III. Immediately after the Death of *Claudius*, the Army unanimously made Choice of *Aurelian* for Emperor, who was General of the Horse, and the most valiant Commander at this Time: But his Confirmation at *Rome* was for some space retarded by reason of *Quintillus*, Brother to the deceased *Claudius*, who being left Commander of a small Army to guard *Italy*, was likewise proclaim'd Emperor; and the Senate, upon the Account of his Brother's Merits, and his own great Vertues and Moderation, gladly allow'd of the Election. But upon the News of the Advancement of *Aurelian*, and his great Power and Interest, *Quintillus* founding the Minds of his Soldiers, and finding himself unable to support his Cause against so formidable a Rival, he resolv'd to dye Emperor, rather than return to his private Condition; and thereupon he caus'd his Veins to be open'd, and so ended his Life, after a short Reign of only 17 Days, before he was settled in his Empire; for which Reason I have not plac'd him in the Number of the *Roman* Emperors. After his Death the Senate and People of *Rome* readily confirm'd the Election of *Aurelian*, and gave him the Title of *Augustus*, with great Joy and Satisfaction. *Aurelian* was born of mean and obscure Parents in *Dacia*, according to some, and in *Mæsia*, according to others; being brought up in Wars and Military Discipline from his Youth. He was many times Captain and Tribune, and above forty times Lieutenant to other Captains and Tribunes: In which Offices he punish'd the Soldiers so severely for their Insolencies, and was so strict in Discipline, that he was much dreaded

dreaded by them : And he likewise perform'd many noble Exploits, especially in those Wars in his Predecessor's Reign, in which he gain'd greater Honour than any other Commander, and was made by *Claudius* his General of the Horse. He was of great Courage, and singular Strength, and perform'd many extraordinary Things in his own Person; and particularly, as *Theoclius* and *Vopiscus* assure us, in the Wars of *Sarmatia*, he kill'd forty Enemies with his own Sword, and at several Times above nine Hundred Men. His uncommon Valour and expeditious Proceedings, have caus'd some to compare him with *Julius Cæsar*; but he much wanted his Mildness and Clemency, being in his Temper very Severe and Cruel; so that he is said to have been more proper for the General of an Army, than the Governour of a State.

Aurelian being establish'd in the Empire, without any further Delay, march'd with his victorious Army against the *Suevians* and *Sarmatians*, Northern Nations, who had invaded the Confines of the Empire; over which he obtain'd a memorable Victory. But while he was thus successfully employ'd, the *Marcomanni*, and other fierce Nations of *Germany* came furiously down into *Italy* it self, and made terrible Ravages and Devastations in several Parts; so that *Rome* was in a dreadful Consternation, imagining all was lost, most Persons being in a Confusion, boldly and openly taxing the Actions and Proceedings of *Aurelian*. The Emperor was much concern'd at this dangerous Irruption, and with all possible Speed return'd to the Relief of *Italy*; and coming to a general Battel with these *Barbarians*, he was in great Danger of being entirely defeated:

For having fought a whole Day from Sun-rising to Setting, the Battel was so bloody, that he lost most of his Troops. But afterwards reinforcing his Army, he gain'd three great Victories over them, and finished the War, destroying the whole Army of the *Marcomanni*; from whence he return'd to *Rome*, highly incens'd at such as presum'd to tax his Proceedings and Management; among which some had practis'd against him. And being of a cruel and revengeful Temper, notwithstanding he was receiv'd with great Pomp and Solemnity, he us'd many severe Punishments for light Offences and inconsiderable Crimes, and put several eminent Men to Death; which caus'd him to be extremely dreaded, and no less hated by many in the City.

Aurelian's Expedition in the East.

The Emperor staid not many Days in *Rome* before he undertook an Expedition into the *East* against the great *Zenobia*, accounting it a Shame and Disgrace to the *Roman Empire* that a Woman shou'd so freely insult over it. And passing with a powerful Army through *Sclavonia* into *Thrace*, he had there some Conflicts against several barbarous Nations that sought to incommode his March. But keeping directly forwards, he arriv'd at *Bizantium*, where he pass'd with all his Troops into the Lesser *Asia*, and easily suppress'd the Rebellions in *Bithynia*; doing the same in other Places without any great Resistance. *Tyana*, a City in *Cappadocia*, was the first Place that oppos'd him, and stopp'd his Progress, which so irrag'd this warm Emperor, that he vow'd, *He wou'd so punish the Inhabitants, as he wou'd not leave a Dog alive.* But by an Apparition of the Ghost of the famous *Apollonius Tyaneus*, which warn'd him Not to destroy his Birth Place, as *Vopiscus* relates

lates it, he pardon'd the Citizens; and when his Soldiers fully expected all the Plunder, and put him in mind of his vowing not to leave a Dog alive, he commanded them to kill all the Dogs, and to spare the Inhabitants. From this Place he march'd to *Antioch*, and *Syria*, against *Zenobia*, who with another *Amazonian* Lady call'd *Zavalla*, attended his coming with a mighty Army of excellent Soldiers and Commanders, train'd up with great Experience, both under her Husband *Odenatus*, and her self. The two powerful Armies approaching each other, a dreadful War commenc'd; for *Zenobia*, not like a weak Woman, but like a fierce *Hannibal*, provided and perform'd whatsoever was necessary and convenient against the *Romans*. After several Skirmishes and smaller Encounters, both Parties came to a General Battel near the City of *Emesa* in *Syria*, which was exceeding sharp and bloody, and so well manag'd by *Zenobia*, that *Aurelian* was several times driven to the greatest Extremities: For his Cavalry being weary'd out with Fighting, and grievously oppress'd, began to retreat, and were ready to have turn'd their Backs and fled; but being detain'd and encourag'd by their Commanders, and constrain'd to stand firm by the Footmen, the Emperor at length obtain'd the Victory, and *Zenobia* escap'd by Flight to *Palmyra*.

Aurelian having obtain'd so signal a Victory, enter'd *Emesa*, and from thence march'd to the City *Palmyra*, the Metropolis of *Palmyrene* in *Syria*, and *Zenobia's* principal Seat: In which March the Soldiers sustain'd great Miseries and Difficulties from the Enemy's

continual Molestations; and the City made such brave and noble Resistance, that they were miserably harra's'd and distress'd, and the Emperor himself was often in great Trouble and Danger. Whereupon *Aurelian*, desirous to finish the War, and thinking to induce *Zenobia* to yield, by Letter assur'd Her of her Life, and that he wou'd allow her all her Treasure, Jewels and Money; and that she shou'd live free and honourably in any Place or City that the Senate shou'd appoint, and still retain her Right to *Palmerine*. *Zenobia* instead of submitting, return'd him this Answer. No Man but You ever demanded That by Writing, which ought only to be obtain'd by Valour. You require my Submission; as though you were ignorant that Queen *Cleopatra* chose Death before the highest Dignity under *Octavius*. We expect the Persians shortly to our Relief; and the Saracens and Armenians are now ready for our assistance. And since the Banditti of Syria were able alone to disorder your Army; all these Succours will certainly abate that Presumption of yours, which makes you expect my Obedience, and account me already vanquish'd. This haughty Answer added to the Emperor's Fury, who immediately order'd the City to be more streightly besieg'd; in which he observ'd such Care and Regularity, that he fail'd in no Part or Duty of a compleat General. For by his Diligence he intercepted the Persian Auxiliaries, and dispers'd them; and had the same success against a considerable Body of Saracens. And for the Troops that were coming from *Armenia*, by a plausible Mixture of Threats and Rewards, he drew 'em over to his Service, and made 'em his Friends; so that *Zenobia* finding her self

self deceiv'd in her Supports, and despairing of present Relief, fled from the City upon Dromedaries, with such Jewels and Treasure as the shortness of her time wou'd permit. And travelling towards *Persia*, she was overtaken by a select Body of Horse which *Aurelian* sent after her, and her City *Palmyra*, and all her Riches fell into his Hands, as likewise all the *Eastern* Provinces shortly after. The Emperor put the Philosopher *Longinus* to Death, being charg'd with indicting *Zenobia's* Letter; but reserv'd this Masculine Queen to be an Ornament to his intended Triumph, who being brought into his Presence, he said, *How durst you, Zenobia, presume to insult over Emperors?* To whom she modestly reply'd, *I acknowledge You for Emperor, who know how to Conquer; but for Gallienus, Aureolus, and the rest, I never took them for Persons of that Dignity.*

The Emperor *Aurelian* having finish'd this War, and establish'd the *East* in good Order, he return'd to *Europe* with Design to march against *Tetricus* in *Gaul*, and passing through *Germany*, he there subdu'd a People, call'd *Carpi*; for which he was call'd by the Title of *Carpiscus* in *Rome*. Upon which *Aurelian* shew'd great Dissatisfaction, that he shou'd gain a Surname only by that Victory; and therefore caus'd himself to be call'd *Gothicus*, *Sarmaticus*, *Armenicus*, *Parthicus*, *Adiabenicus*, *Germanicus*, and *Syricus*, according to the Conquests he had already made. Being upon his March towards *Tetricus*, he receiv'd Intelligence that *Zenobia's* former Subjects, the *Palmerines*, had revolted, having Slain the *Roman* Governor and the Garison, and set up a Relation of the Queen's, call'd *Archelaus* for their Prince.

This greatly enrag'd *Aurelian*, who with a Courage and Expedition peculiar to himself, return'd by long Marches into *Asia*, and arriving in *Syria*, march'd directly to *Palmyra*, which he soon took, and inflicted the severest Punishments upon that City, putting to Death Persons of all Ages and Qualities, without leaving a living Creature in the Place. And having left the City desolate, and several others that had join'd in the Revolt, he in a few Days return'd into *Europe*; but before he cou'd proceed much in his former Designs, he was diverted by the News from *Egypt*, where a Commander, call'd *Firmus*, caus'd that Kingdom to Revolt, and proclaim'd himself Emperor according to some; though others tell us, That he only pretended to maintain the Liberties and Priviledges of *Egypt* against the *Roman* Power. Upon hearing of this, *Aurelian*, who for Expedition was a Second *Julius Cæsar*, return'd a third Time into *Asia*, and from thence march'd into *Egypt*, where with great Labour and Difficulty he recover'd that important Kingdom, and left it in perfect Peace and Security. About the same Time, a Commander in *Dalmatia*, call'd *Septimius*, proclaim'd himself Emperor; but in a short time after, his own Soldiers, according to the odd Custom of this Age, conspir'd against him, and slew him. So that now there remain'd nothing for this Emperor to perform, but to suppress *Tetricus*, who held the greatest Part of the *West*, upon whose Account *Aurelian* pass'd with the utmost Celerity from *Egypt* into *Gaul*. This War was very doubtful in all Mens Opinion, but was ended contrary to their Expectations: For *Tetricus* having no good Title to the Empire, his
Soldiers

Soldiers took the Liberty to become so dissolute and presumptuous, as they prov'd both dangerous and insupportable; therefore he wisely chose to live a Subject to the Emperor *Aurelian*, rather than to be Emperor to such Subjects. And thereupon he wrote secretly to *Aurelian*, yielding himself to his Power; and so happily order'd Affairs, that the *Western* Provinces were in a short time reduc'd to the Emperor's Subjection. *Tetricus yields.*

Aurelian having now successfully establish'd the Provinces, and reduc'd them in a great measure to their ancient Power and Reputation, by subduing of Tyrants and Usurpers, and by repelling of foreign and barbarous Nations, with great Courage and admirable Expedition; he resolv'd to come to *Rome* to triumph for all his Victories; which was perform'd with all the imaginable Pomp and Solemnity. It wou'd be too tedious to enumerate all the Particulars; it is sufficient to observe, That this was one of the most magnificent Triumphs that ever was solemniz'd in *Rome*, in which were led an infinite Number of Prisoners and Captives of all Nations, with vast Variety of wild Beasts, as Tygers, Lyons, Bears, Ounces, Elephants, Dromedaries, and the like; a surprizing Quantity of Arms taken from the Vanquish'd, and most rich and stately Chariots; one of which had belong'd to *Odenatus*, *Zenobia's* Husband; another of them was made for her self, and another the King of *Persia* had presented to the Emperor. *Aurelian* enter'd in a particular Chariot that belong'd to the King of the *Goths*, drawn by four Stags, and was attended by the great *Zenobia*, and *Tetricus* and his Son. The former was most magnificently adorn'd with the

the richest Tissues and Robes, beset with the most valuable Jewels, in the Manner of a Prisoner bound with Chains of Gold; and her uncommon Beauty, her noble Stature, and her Majestick Sweetness, seem'd to Eclipse the Lustre and Grandeur of the Emperor himself. *Aurelian* was follow'd by all his victorious Legions, Horse and Foot, in the most rich and splendid Army, with Boughs of Laurel or Palm in their Hands; in which pompous Manner he enter'd the Capitol to Sacrifice according to Custom, and from thence to the Imperial Palace; the next Day being solemniz'd with all kinds of Sports, Games, and Feats, with the Additions of many extraordinary and uncommon Spectacles. He likewise according to Custom gave many Presents to the People; and contrary to his former Cruelties bestow'd his Rewards upon his Enemies, making *Tetricus* Governor of *Lucania*, *Calabria*, *Apulia*, and *Campania*, and other Provinces in *Italy*, and conferr'd great Honours both upon Him and his Son. And he gave considerable Lands and Possessions to *Zenobia*, sufficient to maintain her honourably according to her Quality, in which she liv'd long after, being highly esteem'd and applauded by all Men, still preserving her ancient Reputation, and the Dignity of her Person.

Aurelian continu'd in *Rome* for some Space in Peace and great Prosperity, daily shewing some considerable Marks of his Justice and Severity, as likewise his Grandeur and Ostentation. He fortifi'd and repair'd the Walls of *Rome*, and also enlarg'd them, which was not lawful for any Emperor, but only such as had enlarg'd the Bounds of the Empire; for which Reason they were

were enlarg'd by *Augustus*, *Nero*, and *Trajan*: And *Victor* tells us, That he was the first Emperor that wore a Diadem on his Head, and that us'd Robes of Gold and precious Stones. He was very strict in Matters of Justice, and no less severe in punishing the Crimes of the Soldiers; upon which Account he wrote thus to one of his Lieutenants. *If you will be a Commander, nay, if you expect to live, keep your Soldiers to their Duty. I will not have a Peasant wrong'd in a Chicken, not one Grape taken without his Permission, nor a Grain of Salt, or a Drop of Oyl unjustly exacted. I wou'd have the Soldiers enrich'd by the Spoils of my Enemies, not the Tears of my Subjects; and wou'd have them Chast in their Quarters, and free from Quarrels.* He caus'd a Soldier, who had committed Adultery with his Hostess, to have his Feet ty'd to the Tops of two Trees forceably bent downwards; which being suddenly let loose, the Criminal was torn in Pieces, and hung upon both Trees in Halves. He shew'd many laudable Pieces of Severity in Matters of Equity and Justice, but did not rest there, for he often practis'd Cruelty contrary to Equity and Justice: And there, in the midst of his Prosperity, extended to the Innocent *Christians*, against whom he drew up several Letters and Edicts, designing a severe Persecution. But while he was perusing and ready to Sign them, a Thunder-bolt from Heaven, or Lightning, fell so near his Person, that all People judg'd him to be destroy'd. This is most commonly reckon'd the ninth general Persecution of the Church, which hapned about eighteen Years after the beginning of the eighth under *Valerian*; but it prov'd so small and inconsiderable,

The ninth
general Per-
secution.

A. D.

275.

siderable, that many of them reckon'd that under *Adrian* in the Number of the ten Persecutions, and for that Reason omitted this. But Heaven crush'd this Persecution in the Embrio, and punish'd the Persecutor shortly after, while he was beginning a new Expedition against the *Persians*. For having put many to Death upon slight Occasions, his principal Secretary, *Menes-theus*, began to doubt his own Security, having been threatned with Death for some Offence committed, and knowing him to be punctual in his Punishments, he conspir'd against him, and forg'd a Roll of the Names of several Persons, as though the Emperor had mark'd them for Death, adding his own, and some others then out of Favour, to make it the more plausible. Upon sight of which the deluded Persons, for their own Security immediately agreed to destroy the Emperor, and resolving upon the Manner of it, as he pass'd with a small Guard from *Heraclia* in *Thrace* towards *Bizantium*, they set upon him, and slew him with small Resistance. Thus fell *Valerius Aurelian*, the Thirty fifth Emperor of *Rome*, after a brave and active Reign of five Years, wanting twenty Days; a Prince of extraordinary Abilities in War and Action, who did wonderful Service to the State, but brought down his own Ruin by his Severity and Cruelty; so that he is said to have been an excellent Physitian to the Publick, but he took away too much Blood. He dy'd in the 1028th Year of the City, 298 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 275 after our Saviour's Nativity, 177 after the last of the Twelve *Cæsars*, and 82 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

The Death
of *Aurelian*.

IV. The

A. D.

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IV. The Vigorous Reign of *Aurelian* had so tamed the Insolence of the Armies, and the Pride of the People, that after his Death, there was such a Calm in the State, that no Usurpers and Pretenders presum'd to appear. *Aurelian's* Army was so far from creating a new Emperor, that considering the Dangers and Inconveniencies of rash Elections, they sent Messengers to the Senate, to desire the Fathers to *chuse and nominate an Emperor, and that they wou'd confirm their Determination, and readily obey the Person.* On the other side the Senate modestly declin'd it, well knowing the Power of the Armies, and sent Orders for the Soldiers, to *nominate and make Choice of a Person, and they were ready to approve of their Act*; which was also refus'd. In passing and exchanging of Complements, there was an *Interregnum* of about eight Months, which was never known since the Establishment of the State; in which space the World was without an Emperor, and the Empire was governed by the Senate, and such Officers as *Aurelian* had left. At length overcome by Entreaties, and Embassies from the Armies, the Senate made Choice of a worthy Person named *Tacitus*; who before understanding their Designs, retired privately to his Mannor in *Campania*, for two Months, avoiding that Dignity which might prove his Ruin. Here he was much solicited by the Senate to accept of the Empire, which he as vehemently refused, affirming, *That his Age had made him incapable of answering their Expectations.* In answer to which they instanced some particular Examples of several of the Emperors who succeeded gloriously, tho' they began their Reigns declining in Years, and by there Importunities

Tacitus made
Emperor.

tunities, and the Necessities of the State, they prevailed with him to take the Government upon him; which proved to the mighty Joy and Satisfaction of the Senate and People, and the *Prætorian* Cohorts, *Tacitus* now being in the 70th Year of his Age, and was a Consular Person, but of unknown Lineage and Country.

Having performed the usual Solemnities, and made bountiful Donatives, he proceeded to the Business of the Government with much Care and Reputation, administering Justice with great Exactness and Regularity. Several Criminals of the late Reign were now punished, particularly *Menestheus*, whose Treason being discovered, was Impaled alive, and his Body thrown to be devoured by wild Beasts. This Emperor observed such Regularities in his Administration, that the whole Empire remained in Peace and Tranquillity, Justice being in all Places preserv'd without Disturbance; to which End he made excellent Laws and Ordinances, and Abolish'd several Abuses and ill Customs in *Rome*. He follow'd the Advice and Council of the Senate in all material Matters; and when the Senate denied him the Consulship which he endeavour'd for his Brother *Florian*, he with great Calmness made Answer, *The Senate knows best whom to chuse*. He was such an Example of Moderation to others, that he wou'd not permit his Empress to wear Jewels or precious Stones; and was so Temperate, that he never drank above one Pint of Wine in a Day, and oftentimes less than half that Quantity. He much honour'd the Memory of good Emperors, and likewise of *Tacitus* the Historian, whom he call'd his Father, commanding his Works to be plac'd in every publick Library throughout the

the Empire, and many Copies to be transcrib'd at the Publick Charge. Having Reign'd about four or five Months, he undertook an Expedition against the *Persians* and *Scythians* in *Asia*; and Marching towards the East, and arriving at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, partly through the Fatigue s of his March, and the Grief occasion'd from Factions, and partly from the Infirmities of Age, he was thrown into a Fever, which shortly after finish'd his Life. This was the Death of *Tacitus*, according to the most probable Accounts, being the Thirty-sixth Emperor of *Rome*, after he had reign'd about six Months to the general Satisfaction of all Men; a Prince worthily commended by all the *Roman* Writers, but his Actions not very particularly recorded by any. He dyed in the 1029th Year of the City, 276 Years after the Birth of our Saviour, and 83 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

The Death of
Tacitus

V. Immediately after the Death of *Tacitus*, the Captains and Commanders drew their Soldiers into the Field; and without any former Request, Practice or Agreement, began to shew, *how necessary it was to make Choice of an Emperor who was valiant, honest, pious, merciful, wise, and adorned with all Excellent Qualifications*; which Speech was us'd in many Parts of the Army. Whereupon the Soldiers without any private Conferences unanimously cry'd out, *Let Probus be Emperor Augustus*; and immediately he was proclaim'd Emperor with great Acclamations. But about the same time *Florian*, Brother to the late Emperor, took upon him the Empire, which he did through the Favour of some other Legions, and certain Men of the highest Rank amongst them.

A. D.
276.

Florian assumes the
Empire,

Florian

And kills
himself.

Probus made
Emperor.

Florian continu'd not long in this exalted State, before he perceiv'd the Interest of *Probus* too powerful for him; and understanding that the Soldiers were ready to abandon him, about two Months after he had assum'd the Title of Empire, he follow'd the Example of *Quintillus*, and died by opening his Veins. *Probus* before this had writ to the Senate, excusing himself for accepting of the Empire without their Knowledge and Consent, blaming the irregular Actions of *Florian*, which constrain'd the Army to chuse him. Upon the Receipt of which, his Election was immediately approv'd and applauded by the Senate, who gave him the Title of *Augustus* and *Pater Patriæ*, made him *Pontifex Maximus*, and invested him with *Tribunitial* Power. *Probus* was about 69 Years of Age when he entr'd upon the Empire; and was born of a noble Parentage in a City call'd *Sirmium* in *Pannonia*, being brought up to Wars in his Youth. He soon became famous for his great Valour and Conduct, and perform'd many excellent Pieces of Service under *Valerian*, *Gallienus*, *Claudius* and *Aurelianus*. In attacking of Towns he was frequently the first Man upon the Scaling-Ladders, the first that entr'd the Enemies Camp; and no less remarkable for single Combats and the saving of the Lives of many Eminent Romans; for which, and other Exploits he was Rewarded with many *Civick* Crowns, Collars, Bracelets, Lances and Banners, with other Ornaments, and Martial Priveleges. His Carriage and Conduct in several Posts and Offices, made him generally be admired, and esteemed by all Men; so that his arrival at the Empire prov'd the universal Joy and Satisfaction of the whole State.

Probus

Probus being confirm'd in the Empire by the Senate, establish'd all Things in the best Order in the *East*, and return'd into *Europe* and *Italy*; where he first made it his principal Concern to levy a powerful Army to march into *Gaul*, which was now over-run by the *Germans*, who possess'd themselves of all the principal Places of that Country. Arriving in *Gaul*, a severe and bloody War began, the Soldiers on either side being very Expert and Valiant. Many sharp Battels were fought, one of which continu'd for two Days, being only parted by the Darkeness of the Night; and was continu'd with that Obstinacy on both sides, that the Victory sometimes inclin'd to the *Romans*, and as often to the *Germans*; till *Probus*, by his uncommon Diligence and Industry at last prevail'd, and gave them a total Overthrow. In this and other Battels, he kill'd no less than 400000 of the Enemy, brought Nine Kings to Subjection and Submission, recover'd 60 of their principal Cities, and all the Lands they had possess'd, and made many Inroads and Devastations in their own Country: For which Victories and Advantages, the Citizens of *Rome* made great Feastings and Rejoycings, and made many solemn Sacrifices and Thanksgivings to their Gods. *Probus*, after these great Services and Successes, without any long Tarrying, march'd with his Victorious Army into *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*, which in a manner were over-run by the *Sarmatians*: And this War was no less dangerous and difficult than the last, by reason of the Multitudes and Fierceness of those Nations. With these he fought several Battels, in all which he shew'd himself a Wise, Hardy, and Valiant Commander; and at length intirely subdu'd them, clear'd the *Roman* Provinces, and

His Expedition.

flew and took most of them. From thence, with great Expedition he march'd with his Army into *Thrace*, and further *North*, with a Resolution to make War with the *Goths* in their own Country, and revenge the Wrongs and Insults which the *Romans* had so often sustain'd from that Nation. But the near approach of this Warlike Emperor, struck so great a Terror, that they immediately yielded Obedience, and were allow'd as Confederates and Allies of the *Roman Empire*. Whereupon leaving *Europe* in Peace, he pass'd over into *Asia*, with a Design to make War with *Narseus*, King of *Persia* and *Parthia*; and marching through the lesser *Asia*, he invaded the Province of *Isauria*, which, by Reason of its natural Strength, was possess'd by Usurpers and Robbers, where he met with many dangerous Conflicts, till at last he subdu'd the Province, and divided the greatest Part of it among his old and best Soldiers. After which, he march'd into *Syria*, and the *East*, where he subdu'd a certain People call'd *Blemii*, who coming out of *Athiopia*, had possess'd themselves of Part of *Arabia* and *Judaea*. Upon the Emperor's approaching the Confines of *Persia*, *Narseus*, tho' one of the most powerful Kings in the World, immediately submitted, to restore what he had taken from the Empire, and to such other Articles as *Probus* requir'd. So having no Enemy in the *East*, the Emperor return'd into *Europe*; and coming into *Thrace*, which had been much depopulated, by means of the Ravages of the *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarous Nations, he divided the Lands by Lot among these People, who were now become his Friends, according to their humble Requests. These were of many Tribes and Nations, as *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Guntanes*, and other People, whose Numbers so
en-

increas'd, that afterwards this Emperor's Concessions to them prov'd very prejudicial and dangerous to the Empire.

At this Time there was a general Peace throughout the whole Empire, and no Foreign King or Nation durst attempt an Invasion; but in a short time some Domestick Disturbances were rais'd in the Provinces. The first was occasion'd by *Saturninus*, a Valiant and Wise Commander, who being sent to *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, without his Knowledge or Imagination, the *Egyptians*, who were ever Unquiet and Rebellious, unanimously proclaim'd him Emperor; and so great was their Obstinacy, that he durst not openly refuse them; but imagining that his Absence might appease the Tumult, he departed into *Judaea*.

But his own Army joining with the *Egyptian* Forces, he found himself constrain'd to take upon him the Title of Emperor; and tho' he did it with many Protestations of his Innocent Intentions, yet soon after he proceeded with great Courage and Resolution, providing all Things necessary for the Preservation of that Character he had assum'd, rather chusing to be a Conqueror, than cease to be an Usurper. *Probus* the Emperor, perceiving his Successes, made great Preparations to suppress his Power, being not a little apprehensive of his Conduct, and his Soldiers Valour, and pass'd over into *Asia*, with a very considerable Force. A severe and doubtful War was begun, and some Battels Fought; yet *Probus* sought to come to some Composition with *Saturninus*, promising him Pardon and civil Usage, which he seem'd willing to accept; but his Soldiers apprehending their own safety, wou'd not permit him. But at length *Saturninus* being defeated, he was besieg'd in a Castle, and was

Saturninus,

Bonofus and
Proculus,
usurp the Em-
pires,

and are sup-
press'd.

there slain by the Soldiers against the Emperor's Will, who wou'd rather have pardon'd him. During this Action, two Commanders in *Gaul* and *Germany*, call'd *Bonofus* and *Proculus*, by the Assistance of their Legions and other Forces, rebell'd against *Probus*, and proclaim'd themselves Emperors. *Bonofus* was as insatiable a Vassal to *Bacchus*, as *Proculus* was to *Venus*: The former was able to drink as much Wine as ten Men cou'd do, without being disorder'd; and the latter bragg'd in a Letter, *That having taken Prisoners 100 Sarmatian Virgins, he depriv'd ten of that Name in one Night, and all the rest within a Fortnight.* But none of these remarkable Qualities cou'd secure them against the Power of the Emperor *Probus*, who with great Celerity came down upon them, and after some considerable Conflicts, reduc'd them to such Extremities, that *Bonofus* in Despair hung himself; and *Proculus* flying into the Country, was deliver'd up by the Germans, which compleated his Victories. *Probus* viewing *Bonofus* hang'd up, as he had said before, *That he was born not to live but to drink*, he said, *There hangs a Bottle, not a Man.* After these Successes, *Probus* returns to *Rome* with great Applauses and Congratulations; and now the Soldiers and Legions remain'd so quiet, and in such exact Obedience, that it grew to a common saying, *That the Mice dare not gnaw for fear of Probus.*

Probus having happily suppress'd all Usurpers and Pretenders, and given Peace to the Empire, it was generally hop'd, that he might now have repos'd himself at *Rome*, since his Years and Travels requir'd no less; all which was frustrated by Means of those barbarous Nations, which by this Emperor's Allowance were settled in *Thrace*. For several of these *Goth* and *Vandals*, finding

finding the Emperor often embarrass'd in Wars and Insurrections, and trusting to their own Strength and Multitudes, resolv'd to make no longer abode there, but to invade all the Provinces of the Empire, ravaging and plundering all Parts after a most barbarous Manner; and their Numbers were so great, that no City or Country was able to make any considerable Resistance. Which when the good Emperor had well consider'd, concluding that whatsoever he had done formerly for the Advantage and Liberty of the Empire, was of no effect, if he suffer'd this Pest to spread it self, he resolv'd again to hazard his Person, and March into those Parts which these People had invaded. And because they cou'd not March all in one Body, by Reason of their Multitudes, he engag'd them in several Places, in which Battels great Numbers were slain on either Side, and the Emperor himself sometimes wounded, and in Danger of Death. But at length conquering all Difficulties, he dispers'd all their numerous Herds, and compell'd those who escap'd Death and Captivity, to fly beyond the Bounds and Confines of the *Roman* Dominions. After this *Probus* return'd to *Rome*, and enter'd the City in a most Solemn Triumph, which some say was the last that in that Kind was known in *Rome*; and all Persons Mouths were fill'd with the Praises of this Emperor, having in few Years Time suppress'd the *Germans*, the *Blemii*, the *Goths* and *Vandals*, besides several Tyrants and Usurpers. His Triumph was most Noble and Magnificent, being accompany'd with Soldiers of all Nations, as well as Captives, and many famous Commanders, particularly *Dioclesian*, *Carus*, *Constantius* and *Maximian*, who were afterwards Emperors. The Triumph being finish'd,

nish'd, the next Day according to ancient custom began the Feasts, Games and Spectacles, in which were greater Variety of Huntings and Encounters of wild Beasts, than was ever known before. For which purpose the Emperor caus'd a *Circus Maximus*, a Mountain and a large Grove of Trees to be set there, as though they grew naturally. The Place was so large and capacious, that a thousand Ostriches were hunted in it, a thousand Staggs, a thousand Mountain Goats, a thousand wild Boars, a thousand fallow Deer, and other Kinds of Beasts; and the People were permitted to kill, and take at their Pleasure. The following Day in the same Place, were let loose a hundred Maned Lions, which fill'd the Air with their Roarings, a hundred *Libyan*, and a hundred *Syrian* Leopards, a hundred Leoneesses, and three hundred Bears. All which were succeeded by great Numbers of *Gladiators*, and other warlike Exercises.

The Emperor *Probus*, having a second time establish'd a Peace in the Empire, he proceeded to the making of several new Laws and Regulations for the good Government of the Empire; and all Men liv'd in such Peace and Security, that *Probus* declar'd, *That he wou'd speedily take such a Course, as there shou'd be no need of Soldiers*; which was a dangerous Sentence in so corrupt an Age, when the Armies had been so accustomed to Plunder and Licentiousness. And this caus'd them to suspect and fear their Prince, and to wish for his Removal. But what still added to their Hatred was, that in these peaceable Times the Emperor wou'd not permit them to be idle and free from Labours, but employ'd them in many publick Works and Buildings. And as *Hannibal* fill'd most Parts of *Africk* with Olive-Yards planted by his

his Soldiers, that their Idleness might not endanger the State ; so *Probus*, who for Valour was a second *Hannibal*, for the same Reason caus'd his Soldiers to plant Vineyards throughout *Gaul*, the *Pannonia's* and the *Myfian Hills*. Having taken all necessary Care concerning a peaceable Government, according to the Greatness of his Mind, he resolv'd to March again into the *East*, with a Design utterly to destroy the Kingdom of the *Persians* and *Parthians* ; for now there remain'd no other Enemy which he thought able to disturb that Peace which he had establish'd in the Empire. And undertaking this Enterprize with greater Preparations and Vigour, than any before, several of the Soldiers became uneasie to be commanded with so much Authority and Discipline, and fearing too great a Restraint of their Licentious Tempers, they conspir'd his Death ; and taking a convenient Opportunity, as he march'd towards *Greece*, they set violently upon him, and destroy'd him. Such was the unfortunate Death of *Probus*, the thirty seventh Emperor of *Rome*, in the 75th Year of his Age, after a glorious Reign of about six Years and four Months ; a short time for so many noble Acts and Enterprizes. He was a Prince of extraordinary Worth and Valour, equal to *Aurelian* in Military Renown, and exceeding him in courteous Behaviour, and had done infinite Service to the Publick, yet was ruin'd by his own indiscreet, tho' just Carriage and Behaviour towards his Soldiers. Yet his Army in general had so great an Esteem for him, that they erected him a Noble Monument with this Epitaph ; *Here lies the Emperor Probus, for his Goodness justly call'd PROBUS; of all the barbarous Nations and Usurpers a Conquerer.* He dy'd in the 1035th Year of the City, 305 Years

*The Death of
Probus.*

after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 282 after our Saviours Nativity, 184 after the last of the twelve *Cæsars*, and 89 after the publick Sale of the Empire by the Soldiers.

VI. The Death of *Probus* was much lamented in the City and Empire, and not a little in that Army where he fell, which did him many and great Honours at his Funeral. After which, the Soldiers began to consult about the Election of a new Emperor, all desiring to make choice of such a Person, as neither the Senate nor the other Armies might have just Cause to object against him. After some Consideration the Majority judg'd *Carus*, whom *Probus* had made *Prætorian* Prefect, to be the most sufficient Person, as well for his worthy Discharge of many Offices and Places of Trust, as his great Experience in Government; and thereupon they Chose him Emperor, and swore Obedience to him, to the general Satisfaction of the Army. The Senate were well pleas'd with the Election of *Carus*, but out of Fear of his vicious Son *Carinus*, they were unwilling to confirm the Election; but apprehending the Power of the Army, and being desirous of preserving that Peace which *Probus* had established, they at length consented. I find no certainty as to the Age or Family of *Carus*: Some say he was by Birth a *Dalmatian*, and by Descent an *African*; others say he was born in *Rome*, and his Father a *Dalmatian*: However he is generally accounted a *Roman*; tho' still some others make him a *Gaul*, and born at *Narbonne*. Immediately after his Election and Confirmation, he joyn'd his two Sons *Carinus* and *Numerian* with him, making them Partners in the Empire, and giving them equal Power and Authority with himself. *Carinus*, the Eldest

*Carus made
Emperor,*

*who joyns
with him his
Sons Carinus
and Nume-
rian.*

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 Carinus and Numerian }

Eldest, was wicked, dishonest, insolent, and addicted to all Kinds of Vitioufness; on the contrary *Numerian* was valiant, wise, modest and learned, and adorn'd with many Vertues.

Carus being establish'd in the Empire, he first made a diligent Search after those who had murder'd *Probus*, whom he severely punish'd; which, together with the Love that *Probus* had shewn to him in his Life, remov'd that Suspicion which some conceiv'd of his being consenting to his Death. Having done this Justice, and written his ordinary Letters to the Senate, he March'd with his Army against the *Sarmatians*, who understanding the Death of the invincible *Probus*, came down with great Fury into *Pannonia*, and with such Elation and Threatnings, that they terrify'd all *Italy* and the Empire. *Carus* after some skirmishes and smaller Enterprizes, came to a Battel with them, in which he had the Victory, slew 16000, took 20000 Prisoners, and put the rest to Flight. After this Victory, he receiv'd Advice, that in the *East* the *Persians* had made some Attempts upon the Empire; wherefore to effect what *Probus* had design'd, he immediately march'd that Way, leaving his eldest Son *Carinus* the Government of *Gaul* and *Spain*, and took *Numerian* with him; then proceeded with such Power and Vigour, that he immediately took all *Mesopotamia*, without any great Resistance. About which time Ambassadors were sent from the King of *Persia*, who finding the old Emperor lying upon the Grass eating of black Broth and Morsels of Swines-Flesh, he had the Ambassadors tell their young Master, If he per-

sisted

sisted in his Obstinacy, that within a Month all his Woods and Fields shou'd be as bare as his own bald Head, which he shew'd; offering them to eat out of the Pot, if they pleas'd, otherwise to depart forthwith. After this he march'd with his Army up to the very Walls of Ctesiphon, from whence the Persians Sally'd out with a powerful Army, which occasion'd a bloody Battel, wherein Carus became Conqueror; and pursuing his Victory, he shortly after took the famous Cities of Ctesiphon and Seleucia, for which he obtain'd the Surname of Persicus. This Emperor was so remarkable for his Vigour and Experience in War, that it was believ'd, if Death had not surpriz'd him, he wou'd have totally ruin'd the Power of the Persians; for at that time they were engag'd in civil Wars. But passing with his Army to the Banks of the River Tigris, through Heat and Travel, he fell extreamly Sick; and being laid up in his Tent, there hapn'd a terrible Storm of Thunder and Lightning, which fell upon the Emperor's Tent, and slew both him and many others with him, after a busie and painful Reign of somewhat above a Year. His Death was by many ascrib'd to the Divine Vengeance, for endeavouring to carry his Victories beyond Ctesiphon; because there was an ancient Oracle which forbad the Romans to extend their Empire beyond the Capital City of the Persians.

*The Death of
Carus,*

After the Death of Carus, his youngest Son Numerian was by the Army esteem'd their Lord and Emperor, both for his Father's and own Deserts. This young Prince greatly lamenting the Death of his Father, broke up his Camp, and began to retire; and because his Sorrow and Tears had brought such Distempers upon his Eyes, that he

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Carinus and Numerian.

he could not endure to behold the Light, he caus'd himself to be carry'd in a close Litter, so that he could not be seen. But as ambition is the most violent of all Passions, so his Father-in-law *Aper*, a Person of great Authority, forgetting his Duty to his Sovereign, and his Affection to his Son-in-law, resolv'd to assassinate him, and by Means of his Wealth and Friends to obtain the Empire for himself; which he thought might easily be effected without Suspicion, since he was always allow'd Access to him. Soon after this fatal Project took Effect, and by him or some hired Person, *Numerian* was Slain in his Litter, and the better to conceal the Fact, his Body was left there: and of *Numerian*. Then making Report, that the Emperor cou'd not endure the Sight of any Man, they carry'd him dead two or three Days, using many Artifices to establish *Aper's* Interest. But as the dead Body began to be offensive by its Smell, the Treason was discover'd sooner than *Aper* expected; and there was such Sorrow and Confusion in the Army, that every Man took up Arms, and threatened Revenge to the Murderers. In the midst of this Tumult, the Soldiers proceeded to a new Election, and by general Consent, *Dioclesian* was chosen and saluted Emperor, who was the principal Man in the Army, and one of the most excellent Commanders in the Reign of *Probus*, being likewise Steward to that Emperor, and Governour of his House-hold. *Dioclesian* seeing himself thus advanc'd, cloathed himself with the Imperial Robe, and sat upon the Tribunal Seat; where being saluted *Augustus*, he commanded the Murderers of *Numerian* to be produc'd; and immediately *Aper* was brought before him, upon the

Dioclesian
chosen Empe
ror.

the Sight of whom, *Dioclesian* descended from his Seat and Slew him with his own Hand and Sword, saying, *Now I have kill'd the Boar, and fulfill'd the Prediction of my future Empire.* At the same time he commanded all the Accomplices and Associates of *Aper* to be executed; punishing to the utmost the Murther of the good *Numidian*.

During these remarkable Transactions, *Carinus* the Surviving Son of *Carus*, continu'd in his Government in *Gaul*, giving himself to all Kinds of Luxury and Debauchery; by which he became odious to all Men, and likewise to his Father before his Death, so that he design'd to have depriv'd him of the Empire. He marry'd and divorc'd nine Wives, and remov'd all good and vertuous Men from his Presence and Conversation; but the Death of his Father and Brother, together with the Election of *Dioclesian*, a little rous'd him from his Vices. And being naturally bold, and of a good Courage, he levy'd what Forces he could, and made great Preparations against *Dioclesian*, hoping to remain sole Emperor at last. Upon Notice of which, *Dioclesian* with great Expedition march'd with his Forces from the *East* towards *Gaul*; and both Armies meeting in *Mæsia*, there began a bloody War between these Rivals for the Universe. But this lasted not long, for in a few Days several Skirmishes hapn'd; and *Carinus* was once worsted by *Dioclesian*, and then overthrown in a general Battel; and soon after was slain by a Tribune or Colonel of his own Army, whose Wife he had formerly abus'd: By which Means *Dioclesian* remain'd sole Lord of the *Roman* Empire. Thus dy'd the last of the three Contemporary Emperors, *Carus* and his two Sons, which all together make up the thirty eighth Emperor

The Death of
Carinus.

II. { DIOCLESIAN }
 Chap. VI. } and } XXXIX.
 { MAXIMIAN }

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peror of Rome, and a Reign of about two Years, or somewhat more. *Carinus* dy'd in the 1037th Year of the City, and the 284th Year of our Lord.

VII. Thus all Things contributed to the Advancement of *Dioclesian*, who was born in *Dalmatia*, of an obscure Parentage, being, according to some, the Son of a Notary, and of a Bond-Man, according to others. The Name both of his Mother, and the Town of his Birth was *Dioclea*, whence he was call'd *Diaclēs*, till he came to be Emperor, and then converting a Greek Name into a Roman Form, he nam'd himself *Dioclesian*. He had pass'd through many considerable Offices before he arriv'd at the Empire, which he discharg'd with much Honour and Reputation, being remarkable for his great Courage and Sagacity, his quick Wit and Ingenuity, his profound Cunning and Policy, and likewise his contumacious Haughtiness and Severity. *Dioclesian* beginning to take upon him the Administration of the Government, he receiv'd Intelligence, that an infinite number of Labourers and Peasants in *Gaul* had made a dangerous Insurrection and Rebellion in that Country, being headed by two Commanders call'd *Amandus* and *Helianus*. But *Dioclesian* accounting that War inglorious to himself, sent a Valiant Commander against these Rebels call'd *Maximian*, whom he had already made *Cæsar*; who marching into *Gaul*, after some great Hazards and Difficulties, slew great Numbers, and dispers'd the rest, so that in all Places there was Peace and Tranquility.

But

who joyns with
him Maximian.
an.

But other Wars and Usurpers arising, *Dioclesian* judging himself insufficient to manage the sole Charge of the Empire, about the second Year of his Reign, he took *Maximian* for his Equal and Companion in the Empire, being a Person addicted to all kinds of Viciousness and Extortions, yet remarkable for his Courage and Boldness. These two were notwithstanding happily cemented in their Friendships, Inclinations, and Designs; and what is further observable, *Maximian* was not only a faithful and loyal Companion in the Empire, but was as respectful and obedient to *Dioclesian* as any Son to his Father; so that they govern'd the Empire for many Years in Love and Concord, and obtain'd many noble Victories over their Enemies.

Not long after *Dioclesian's* choice of *Maximian*, the Roman Empire was in great Danger of being torn in Pieces by several Wars and Invasions, Insurrections and Rebellions, that happen'd in many Parts of the Empire almost at the same time. *Achilleus*, a Commander in *Egypt*, began first to Rebel, and proclaiming himself Emperor, seiz'd on that ancient Kingdom, being very powerful and of great Authority. In *Africa* all the Legions and old Soldiers were drawn together in a mutinous and rapacious Manner, and joining with many Robbers and Inhabitants of those Parts, they seiz'd and enjoy'd all the Publick Rents and Tributes; and these for their Continuance were nam'd *Quingentiani*, or *Quinquagenarii*. About the same time a principal Commander in *Britain*, call'd *Carausius*, Rebel'd, proclaim'd himself Emperor, and possess'd himself of that Island; and *Narseus*, King of *Persia* and *Parthia*, taking Advantage from these unsettled Times, began a dangerous War upon the Empire, and invaded

Meso-

Mesopotamia. One *Julian* also Rebell'd in *Italy*, and endeavour'd to make himself Emperor; but finding the weakness of his Foundation, he soon after stabb'd himself. *Dioclesian* seeing so many Rebellions and Pretensions to the Empire, as well as Foreign Invasions, resolv'd to strengthen his Interest by the assistance of others; therefore he and his Associate *Maximian* agreed, that each of them shou'd nominate a Person to be *Cæsar*, and their Successor, and such a Person as shou'd be able to defend the Empire, both against Foreign Invaders as well as Domestick Pretenders. And thereupon *Dioclesian* made choice of *Galerius Maximinus*, surnam'd *Armentarius*; he being by Report born of a Cow-herd in *Dacia*, but was a very Valiant and Courageous Commander, yet of a most severe and churlish Disposition. *Maximian* chose *Constantius*, surnam'd *Chlorus*, a Person very Vertuous, Wise, and Valiant, Son of *Claudia*, Niece to the last Emperor *Claudius*, who gain'd such Advantages over the *Goths*. And to be the better assur'd of their Fidelity, the two Emperors caus'd them to put away their Wives, and to marry others; upon which *Constantius* put away *Helen*, by whom he had *Constantine*, afterwards Emperor, and marry'd *Theodosia*, Daughter-in-Law to *Maximian*. After this Settlement, the business of the Wars and Troubles was immediately divided amongst these four, the two Emperors and the two *Cæsars*. *Dioclesian* undertook to march into *Egypt* against *Achilleus*; and *Maximian* into *Africk* against the *Quingentiani*. *Constantius* remain'd in *Gaul* to suppress *Carausius*, and the Incursions of the Northern Nations; and

Galerius, and

Constantius, made Cæsars.

Gale-

Galerius was sent into the *East* against *Narsesus*, King of *Persia*. Of all which Expeditions, we shall give some little Account, beginning with the two Emperors.

The Expedition
of Dioclesian,

All necessary Preparations being made, *Dioclesian* march'd into *Agypt*, where *Achilleus* attended his Coming with a strong and numerous Army; and coming to a Battel, notwithstanding *Achilleus* made a Valiant Resistance, *Dioclesian* had the Victory. But the other saving himself by Flight, recover'd the City of *Alexandria*; where seeking to repair his Losses, and recruit his Troops, he was closely besieg'd by *Dioclesian*: And in the space of eight Months, which was the continuance of the Siege, there happen'd many Battels, Skirmishes, and Encounters; till at length the City was taken by Force. And *Achilleus*, by *Dioclesian's* Command was condemn'd to be devour'd by Lions, and other wild Beasts. And likewise in all the Kingdom of *Agypt*, this Emperor inflicted most severe and cruel Punishments, putting many Thousands to Death; not only the Ring-leaders and Abettors, but all such as barely approv'd of this Rebellion. His Fellow-Emperor *Maximian* was no less successful against the *Quingentiani* in *Africk*, tho' at first he had a doubtful War with them; but in a short Time he broke their united Power, and constrain'd them to sue for Peace. After which he march'd into divers Parts of *Africk*, destroying the Usurpers and Robbers in those Countries; for which he was surnam'd *Herculeus*, because *Hercules* was principally employ'd in such Exploits. But *Dioclesian* proceeded further, and call'd himself *Jovius*, from *Jupiter*; and rested not here; but afterwards, like *Caligula* and *Domitian*, assum'd the Title of Lord, challeng'd Divine Honours, and suffer'd him-

of Maximian,

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himself to be ador'd as a God: Tho' at the same Time he is said to have carry'd himself more like a Father than a Tyrant.

The Wars manag'd by the two *Cæsars*, *Constantinus*, and *Galerius*, prov'd not so prosperous at first as those of the two Emperors. *Constantinus* of *Constantinople* found *Carausius* possess'd of all *Britain*, and so Val-
 us, liant and Politick, that he cou'd not prevail against him; but being continually alarm'd and invaded by Inundations of *Germans*, he was constrain'd to come to an Accommodation with him. So that *Carausius* remain'd intire Possessor of *Britain* for seven Years; and then was Slain by his familiar Companion *Alectus*, who held the Country three Years longer. But at length he was Overthrown and Slain by a *Prætorian* *Præfect*, call'd *Asclepiodotus* or *Asclepius Dotus*, who recover'd *Britain* to the Empire, after it had been ten Years Usurp'd by Rebels and Traitors. In the mean time *Constantinus* was employ'd against the *Germans*, and other barbarous Nations, with whom he had several Battels; in the last of which, in one Day, he was both Overthrown and Conqueror: For coming to a general Battel with them in a Morning near the City of the *Lingones*, his Troops fought so negligently, that they were driven to turn their Backs and fly to the City, together with *Constantinus* himself. But coming to the Gates of the City, he found them fast secur'd; and was in such Extremity, that if he had not suddenly been drawn up the Walls by a Rope, he had been slain by the Enemy. Having thus enter'd the City, he call'd the Soldiers

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rius.

together, and inciting them by his Speeches, five Hours after, when the Enemy expected no Attack, he commanded all the Gates to be set open, and suddenly Sallying out, he set upon them with such Fury and Bravery, that after a long Fight, he entirely defeated them, and kill'd 60000 of their Men.

During these Transactions in other Parts, *Galerius* began a War against the *Persians*, no less hazardous than the rest; especially in the Beginning, when *Galerius* near the City *Carra*, came to a General Battel with *Narseus* their King; and rashly venturing with too small an Army, tho' he fought with extraordinary Courage, he was Overthrown, and lost the greatest Part of his Army. *Dioclesian* at the same time was coming from *Egypt* into *Mesopotamia*, where he was met by *Galerius*, who immediately alighted from his Horse, and approach'd the Emperor's Litter to salute him. But *Dioclesian* without staying, or bidding him take Horse, suffer'd him to attend his Litter some Miles on Foot, much blaming his Conduct and Discretion in these last Actions. But at length giving him leave to depart, he enjoyn'd him to levy new Troops to retrieve his Honour, and defend his Province; which *Galerius* immediately put in Execution, *Dioclesian* remaining with his Troops in *Mesopotamia*, to prevent the *Persians* Invading that Province. *Galerius* having gather'd together the Legions of *Sclavonia*, *Dacia*, and *Mæsia*, and other Forces, he march'd into the Kingdom of *Armenia*, which *Narseus* had enter'd, with whom he began a War with great Order and Exactness, and with no less Courage and Valour. The two Armies approaching, both Generals by mutual Consent joyn'd Battel, one being animated with the Resolution of Pre-
serving,

serving, and the other of Recovering his Honour: And the Soldiers having almost the same Intentions, the Battel prov'd very severe and bloody; but the *Roman* Army consisting of select and disciplin'd Men, obtain'd the Victory, tho' not without much Danger and Difficulty. *Narseus* escap'd by Flight, and *Galerius* pursuing the Victory, enter'd his Camp, where he took the King's Wives, his Children, his Sisters, and many of the Nobility of *Persia*, with great Riches and Booty. Then marching forwards with his Forces, he Invaded *Narseus's* Country, and made great Devastations, without meeting any Resistance; from whence he repaired to *Mesopotamia*, to wait on *Dioclesian*, where he was receiv'd as in a Triumph, *Dioclesian* going out to meet him, and doing him great Honour. The Affairs of the *East* being thus establish'd, and the *Parthians* and *Persians* Overthrown, *Dioclesian* and *Galerius* return'd into *Europe* and *Italy*, where they were met with great Joy and Satisfaction by *Maximian* and *Constantius*, who likewise had been very successful in their several Charges.

These great Men had now brought Peace and Security to three Parts of the Empire, the *East*, *West*, and *South*; but the Northern Nations cou'd not be thoroughly subdu'd, as well for their Fierceness and Courage, as their frequent withdrawing themselves into Cold, Barren, and Inaccessible Places, which only themselves cou'd endure: So that the *Roman* Commanders judg'd it impossible to pass any further with their Armies, satisfying themselves in chasing them out of the Limits of the Empire; tho' they wou'd after-

wards return with greater Fury than at first, being continually troublesome and formidable. Now the *Scythians*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Alanes*, *Carpi*, *Catti*, *Quadi*, and other barbarous Nations, assembled themselves in incredible Numbers, with Intention to pillage and inhabit more fertile Countries, and began to make dangerous Invasions again into the *Roman* Territories; against which the two Emperors with their two *Cæsars* march'd with several Armies, dispersing themselves in such an exact Manner, that one was always ready to assist another. At length after many hazards, Hardships, Losses and Dangers, they repell'd all these barbarous Nations, and took innumerable Herds of them Prisoners; which afterwards being set at Liberty, certain depopulated Provinces were given them to inhabit. *Dioclesian* having obtain'd these great Victories and Advantages, and having settled Peace in the Empire by the Industry of himself and his Assistants was desirous of obtaining the usual Reward of great Exploits, and return'd to *Rome*, which he enter'd in solemn Triumph, together with his Colleague *Maximian*, and their two *Cæsars* *Constantius* and *Galerius*. This was in the seventeenth Year of *Dioclesian's* Reign, and was as magnificent as ever was seen in *Rome*; in which was expos'd an infinite Mass of Treasure of the Spoils of the *East*, of *Agypt*, and other Nations by them Subdu'd: There were many Chariots full of Arms, and of Vessels of Gold and Silver, and many famous Prisoners, particularly the Wife and Children of the King of *Persia*, with many Kings and Commanders of the *Alanes*, the *Catti*, and other Nations. These Wars, which had continu'd for many Years, were exceeding burdensome to the *Roman* Empire, as well by Means of the

Their joynt
Expedition,

and Triumph.

the Vastness of the Armies, as the Exactions and Avarice of the Emperors : However no Emperor ever kept the State in greater Subjection than *Dioclesian*, who by his remarkable Vigour and fortunate Management of Affairs, made himself obey'd by all People; and even *Maximian* look'd upon him as his Father, and *Constantinus* and *Galerius* as their Lord, his Subjects not daring to approach him without Marks of Adoration. Whereas it was the Custom among former Emperors, to allow Petitioners to kiss their Hands, and sometimes their Cheeks; *Dioclesian* on the contrary by a publick Edict commanded, that all Men without Distinction, should kiss his Foot prostrate upon the Earth; and for the greater Magnificence, he caus'd his Shoes to be set with Pearl, and precious Stones of the greatest Value.

In the midst of this Peace and Prosperity, *Dioclesian*, partly from his Pride and Cruelty, and principally from his Superstitious Zeal to declining *Paganism*, resolv'd to suppress *Christianity*, which for some Years had encreas'd with such a Prosperity, as corrupted many of its Professors. And passing into *Asia*, to the City *Nicomedia*, he took an Occasion from several pretended Affronts, to raise a Persecution against the *Christians*, commanding the *Christian* Churches to be pull'd down, their Bibles to be burnt, the better sort to be branded with Infamy, and the Vulgar to be made Slaves. But these were but a Preludium to what succeeded, other Edicts being publish'd, commanding those who refus'd to offer Sacrifice, to be expos'd to all Kinds of exquisite Pains and Torments. This was the tenth and last general

The tenth general Persecution.

A. D. 303.

Persecution of the Catholick Church, which began in the 19th Year of *Dioclesian's* Reign, 239 Years after the first under *Nero*, 213 after the second under *Domitian*, 196 after the third under *Trajan*, 136 after the fourth under *Antoninus Philosophus*, 101 after the fifth under *Severus*, 68 after the sixth under *Maximinus*, 53 after the seventh under *Decius*, 46 after the eighth under *Valerian*, and 28 after the ninth under *Aurelian*. As this was the last Persecution, so it was the most severe of all others, like the last Efforts of an expiring Enemy, who us'd all his Strength to give a parting Blow. It were endless and almost incredible, to enumerate the Variety of Sufferers and Torments; it is sufficient to observe in this Place, that they were Scourg'd to Death, had their Flesh torn off with Pincers, and mangled with broken Pots, were cast to Lions, Tigers, and other wild Beasts, were burnt, beheaded, crucify'd, thrown into the Sea, torn in Pieces by the distorted Boughs of Trees, roasted by gentle Fires, and Holes made in their Bodies for melted Lead to be pour'd into their Bowels. This Persecution lasted ten Years under *Dioclesian*, and some of his Successors, and the incredible Numbers of *Christians* that suffer'd Death and Punishment, made them conclude that they had compleated their Work, and in an ancient Inscription they tell the World, *That they had effac'd the Name and Superstition of the Christians, and had restor'd and propagated the Worship of the Gods*. But they were so much deceiv'd, that this hastned the Destruction of *Paganism*, and shortly after *Christianity* became Victorious and Triumphant over all the Powers and Artifices of Mankind.

Not long after the Issuing out these bloody Decrees, *Dioclesian* return'd to *Rome* to celebrate his second

DIOCLESIAN } Chap. VI. } and } XXXIX. MAXIMIAN. }

551

second *Decennalia*, from whence he soon after repair'd again to *Nicomedia*; and there after various Considerations and Reflections upon his present Circumstances, he resolv'd upon a Matter which none of his Predecessors ever thought of, which was intirely to resign and relinquish the *Roman* Empire, and to lead a private Life for the future. And not contented to leave the Empire himself, he perswaded, and in a Manner compell'd his Associate *Maximian* to do the same; which between them was agreed and concluded by Letters and Embassies, in such a Manner, that both in the same Day, *Maximian* in *Milan*, and *Dioclesian* in *Nicomedia*, resign'd the Empire, and divesting themselves of their Imperial Robes, they descended from their Thrones, and made themselves equal with private Persons, after *Dioclesian* had reign'd 20 Years, and *Maximian* above eighteen, both together making the thirty ninth Emperor of *Rome*. Many Authors applaud and extol this Act of *Dioclesian's*, mentioning it as a shining Instance of Greatness and Generosity, that he could so easily and freely part with the Empire of the World; but *Lactantius* in a Piece lately recover'd from Darkness, assures us, that this Resignation was wholly caus'd by the Means and Contrivances of *Galerius*, who coming to *Nicomedia* shortly after a great Sickness of the Emperor's, threatned him with a Civil War if he refus'd to resign, as he had done *Maximian* before; and that *Dioclesian* finding himself declining in Years and Authority, with many Tears was constrain'd to comply with his Demand. However we are assur'd by many, that after his Resignati-

*Dioclesian
and Maximian
resign the
Empire.*

on his Life was very easie and pleasant to him, having retir'd to his Birth Place *Salona* in *Dalmatia*, where for several Years his principal Employment was managing a Garden and an Orchard, saying, *That he began now to live, and to see the Beauty of the Sun.* And when afterwards *Maximian*, and others perswaded him to reassume the Empire, he reply'd, *That if they had enjoy'd so much Ease and Quiet as he, they wou'd not have disturb'd him:* He likewise shew'd them his Cole-Worts in his Garden, and told them, *That he took greater Pleasure in planting of them, than in governing the Empire.* But notwithstanding this easie Life, Heavens Vengeance overtook him at last in his Death, which was by Poyson or Madnes, or both, tho' he is acknowledg'd to have done infinite Service, as well as Diskindness to his Country, for which he ought to be applauded and condemn'd. This Remarkable Resignation hapned in the 1057th Year of the City, 327 Years after the Settlement of the Empire by *Augustus*, 304 after our Saviour's Nativity, 206 after the last of the twelve *Cæsars*, and 111 after the publick Sale of the Empire.

CHAP.

GALERIUS. XL.

CHAP. VII.

From the Resignation of Dioclesian, to the Removal of the Imperial Seat to Constantinople by Constantine the Great, the forty first Emperor; which was the greatest Step to the Ruin of the Roman Empire.

Containing the Space of about 26 Years.

THE Resignation of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, was a great Surprize to the Roman Empire, which had so often seen its best Blood shed for the obtaining of it: However we find no great Marks of Dissatisfaction in any, all being ready to acknowledge the two *Cæsars*, *Constantius* and *Galerius* for Emperors, according to the particular Appointment of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*. *Constantius* was Marry'd to *Theodora*, Daughter-in-Law to *Maximian*; and *Galerius* to *Valeria*, Daughter to *Dioclesian*. The first was very Noble by Descent, vertuous, valliant, of an affable and Merciful Temper; the latter was ignoble, of Signal Valour and Courage, but withal Churlish, Incontinent, Cruel, and a barbarous Persecutor of the *Christians*. Notwithstanding this Disparity of Humours and Dispositions, *Dioclesian* while he reign'd, by his remarkable Policy and uncommon Management, preserv'd a constant Agreement between them; but after his Resignation to prevent all future Contests that might arise, they

A. D.

304.

Constantius and Galerius made Emperors,

readily

And divide
the Empire be-
tween them.

readily agreed to make a distinct and independent Division of the Empire between them. *Constantius* had the *Western* Parts of the Empire, namely *Italy*, *Sicily*, the greatest Part of *Africk*, together with *Spain*, *Gaul*, *Britain* and *Germany*; and *Galerius* the *Eastern* and the largest share, namely, *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, all the Provinces of *Greece* and the lesser *Asia*, together with *Agypt*, *Syria*, *Judæa*, and all the *East*. This Division being made, the Government of so many Provinces seem'd too great a Charge and Burthen to the pacifick Temper of *Constantius*, who chusing rather to govern well than to govern much, freely relinquish'd the Provinces of *Africk* and of *Italy* to *Galerius*, contenting himself with *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain*, and his Part of *Germany*. On the other Side *Galerius* finding his Provinces to encrease, and the Affairs of the Empire burdensom, and difficult to manage with Security to himself, he made Choice of two Assistants; and created them *Cæsars*; the one was *Severus*, to whom he allotted the Government of *Italy* and *Africk*, and the other his Sister's Son *Maximin*, to whom he gave the Government of the *East* in *Asia*, reserving to his own particular Management all the Provinces that belong'd to *Illyricum* and *Greece*. So that the World was in a Manner govern'd by four Heads, *Constantius* and *Galerius* Emperors, and *Severus* and *Maximin*, *Cæsars*, who were Dependents of *Galerius*.

Constantius was about 54 Years of Age when he enter'd upon the Government, which he manag'd to the great Satisfaction and Approbation of all Men, preserving his Provinces free from all Kinds of Wars and Rebellions, during his short Reign. The *Gauls* not only lov'd him, but almost ador'd him before he was Emperor, for under
his

Severus and
Maximin
made Cæsars
by Galerius.

GALERIUS XL.

his former Administration, they had escap'd the Suspected Policy of *Dioclesian*, and the bloody Rashness of *Maximian*. His principal Desire was to benefit and enrich his Subjects, saying, *It was better to have the Wealth of the Land diffus'd, and in the Hands of Many, than to be lock'd up in Princes Coffers*; concurring with *Trajan*, who compared the Exchequer to the Spleen, the great Growth of which caus'd the Limbs to be lessen'd and weaken'd. He so little affected Pomp and Splendor, that on Festival Days, when he entertain'd many of his Friends, he generally borrow'd Furniture and Plate from other Persons for the Use of his Table: And being in his former Administration by *Dioclesian's* Ambassadors reproach'd for his Poverty; he only intimated his Wants to the People, and in a few Hours amass'd such infinite Summs from their Voluntary Contributions, that the Ambassadors were amaz'd; he telling them, *That the Love of the People was the richest and surest Treasure of the Prince*. After their Departure, he return'd all the Subsidies that were presented him; being by this voluntary Poverty, richer than *Dioclesian*, and all the Princes who were his Partners. He was of a merciful and generous Temper, and much honour'd and favour'd the *Christians*, not permitting any Violence or Injury to be offer'd them: However he once politickly pretended to prosecute them, and commanded all the Officers of his Household, who were *Christians*, to change their Religion, or to leave their Places; but when some of them did so, he sent them away with great Disgrace, saying, *That those who were not true to their God, wou'd never be faithful to their Prince*.

Constantius

Constantius in the second Year of his Reign repair'd to *Britain*, and resided at *Eboracum* or *York*, where falling into some Sickness, he began to be much concern'd for the Safety of his Son *Constantine*, who for several Years had been kept at the Court of *Dioclesian*, as an honourable Pledge for his Father's Fidelity, and since his Resignation in that of *Galerius* in the *East*. *Galerius* hated *Constantinus*, and was jealous of his Son, whom he wou'd have remov'd by a violent Death, but he knew that the Army admir'd *Constantine*, and wou'd revenge it. He sought therefore under Pretence of Sports and Martial Exercises to have dispatch'd him; but he was still Preserv'd by the Hand of Providence. His Father had often sent for him, and had been as often deny'd; and now in this Sickness he had renew'd his Importunity: So that *Galerius* being asham'd to deny this reasonable Request, sign'd him a Warrant to go the next Day, resolving upon some Artifice to stop him in his Journey, and prevent his Arrivall in *Britain*, and therefore order'd him to come the next Morning to receive his final Instructions. But *Constantine*, as soon as *Galerius* was gone to his Rest, took Post-Horses with all Speed, and at every Stage where he came, besides those few he made use of, he ham-string'd all the Horses that he left behind him: *Galerius* calling for him the next Day, and understanding that he was gone the Night before, he immediately commanded several to pursue him; but hearing soon after that the Post-Horses were all disabled, he burst out into a violent Passion of Rage and Grief. In the mean time *Constantine* travell'd with the utmost Speed, and arriving at *York*, found his Father past Recovery. *Constantius* being ask'd which of his Children shou'd Succeed him, having two Sons by *Theodora*; neglecting

Galerius, &c. XL.

lecting his second Wife and her Off-spring, he cry'd aloud, *None but the pious* - Constantine! and shortly after expir'd in the Arms of this beloved Son. This was the Death of *Constantius Chlorus* the fortieth Emperor of *Rome*, in the 56th Year of his Age, after he had been *Cæsar* about 16 Years, and Emperor somewhat above two; a Prince of great Vertues and Accomplishments, and infinitely belov'd and lamented by all his Subjects. He dy'd in the 1059th Year of the City, 306 Years after our Saviour's Nativity, and 24 before the Removal of the Empire by his Son *Constantine*.

*The Death of
Constantius.*

II. Upon the Decease of the Emperor *Constantius*, his Son *Constantine*, now about 36 Years of Age, was unanimously saluted Emperor of the *West*, by the joyful Applauses and Acclamations of the Army, upon the Account of his own as well as his Father's Merits; being a Prince of most promising Vertues and Accomplishments, of profound Policy and Capacity, and of no less Modesty than Magnanimity. He was born in *Britain*, of *Hellen* the first Wife of *Constantius*, and was marry'd to *Fausta*, the Daughter of *Maximian*, who resign'd the Empire with *Dioclesian*; being afterwards Surnamed *The Great*, from his many great Actions and Exploits. For some Space he contented himself with the Name of *Cæsar*, not immediately assuming the Title of *Augustus* or Emperor, expecting the Senior Emperor shou'd have sent him that Title, but in vain: For as soon as his Image wreath'd with the Imperial Laurel, was presented to *Galerius*, he was so enrag'd, as to condemn both it and the Messenger to

*A. D. 306.
Constantine
made Emperor.*

to the Fire, but by his Friends was dissuaded from the Execution. Therefore that he might seem to allow that voluntarily, which he cou'd not prevent, he sent him the Purple, but withal made *Severus* Emperor, and gave him only the Title of *Cæsar*. But *Constantine* stood in no need of his Approbation to confirm his Title; his Father's declared Will for his Succession, and the universal Consent both of the Army and the whole *West*, put his Right beyond all Dispute. His Image, according to the Custom of new Emperors, being expos'd in *Rome*, provoked the Ambition of *Maxentius*, and taking an Opportunity in the Absence of *Severus*, whose Government the *Prætorian* Soldiers hated, he proclaim'd himself Emperor by their Assistance, and some considerable Officers then in *Rome*. He was Son to *Maximian* by *Eutropia*, an ordinary Woman of *Syria*, and was very popular among the Soldiers, whom for Recompence he allow'd to commit almost all Kinds of Outrages and Disorders in the City. This was some Surprize to *Constantine*, but a greater to *Galerius*, who immediately sent *Severus* with all Speed towards *Rome*, to suppress this new Usurper; and for a further Security, he encourag'd old *Maximian* to reassume the Empire, which he willingly did, expecting to dispossess his Son *Maxentius*, and in Time to become sole Emperor. *Severus* march'd with his Army up to the Walls of *Rome*; but his Soldiers considering against whom they were to fight, immediately abandon'd him, so that he was constrain'd to fly, and to shut himself up with a handful of Men in *Ravenna*, to avoid old *Maximian*, who under Pretence of assisting his Son, was coming that Way. Finding that he cou'd not avoid being deliver'd up, he resign'd his Imperial Purple; which submission cou'd only

Maxentius in Rome, usurps the Empire.

Galerius, &c. XL.

ly purchase him an easie Death, which was by opening his Veins.

*The Death of
Severus.*

In the mean time old *Maximian* made use of all Methods to regain his former Authority, and us'd many Persuasions to engage his old Partner *Dioclesian* in the same Expedition; but all in vain. Nor did he meet with better Success at *Rome*; for there he rais'd such Mischiefs among the *Prætorian* Soldiers, that he was oblig'd to fly into *Gaul* to *Constantine*, who honourably receiv'd him, as his Father-in-Law, and as one who had been Emperor. From whence he repair'd to *Galerius*, and was forc'd to fly a second Time into *Gaul*, where his Thoughts were so fix'd upon Rule and Empire, that he endeavour'd to destroy his Son-in-Law *Constantine*. But his Treason was soon discover'd, and flying with some Forces into *Marseilles*, he was pursu'd, besieg'd, and stript of his Imperial Robes by *Constantine*, who finding himself daily expos'd to new Plots and Conspiracies, at length cou'd allow him no greater Mercy than to let him chuse his own Death, which *Lactantius* tells us was Hanging: A Death which he had long before Merited by his Cruelties and Barbarities to the *Christians* and others. In the mean time *Galerius*, after the Defeat and Death of *Severus*, gather'd together all his Troops, and march'd into *Italy*, against *Maxentius*, resolving to ruin the Inhabitants, and particularly to destroy all the Senate. But he was stopp'd in his furious Career; for his own Soldiers upon their Approach to *Rome*, considering the Consequence of this unnatural War, began to desert, and were in a staggering condition; which threw him into such a Fright, that fearing the Fate of *Severus*, he cast

*The Death of
Maximian.*

cast himself at his Soldiers Feet, and Servilely begg'd, *That they won'd not deliver him up to his Enemies*; and then march'd away with such Fear and Consternation, that a small Body of Men wou'd have been sufficient to have ruin'd him. Infinite Ravages and Outrages were permitted by Him, and committed by his Army in all Parts of *Italy* in their March; so that in stead of being a *Roman* Emperor, he became the Plunderer of *Italy*, retiring back into his own Division, after he had in a Savage Manner destroy'd the whole Country. Not long after his Return to his Province, he sent for old *Dioclesian*, before whom he created *Licinius Cæsar*, or rather Emperor in the Place of *Severus* deceas'd; who was originally the Son of a poor Labourer in *Dacia*, but a very politick and excellent Commander. The Presence of *Dioclesian* was made use of to give the greater Authority to the Choice; which notwithstanding gave but small satisfaction to *Maximin* in the *East*, who much envy'd this new Advancement.

About the sixth Year of his Reign, he was visited with a filthy and incurable Distemper; beginning first with an Ulcer and Impostume in his Privities, which increasing, prov'd incredibly nauseous both to the Sight and Smell; so that all the Arts of Physicians and Surgeons were useless and ineffectual. His Distemper increas'd slowly and gradually, and afterwards his Thighs were over-run with Putrefaction, the Bottom of his Belly consum'd, his Bowels laid open, and the whole Mass of his Body turn'd into an universal Rottenness, which was accompany'd with infinite Numbers of Worms and Vermin, and such insupportable Torments, that he often endeavour'd to kill himself, and caus'd some of his Physicians to be slain, because their Remedies were

Licinius
made Cæsar
or Emperor by
Galerius.

Licinius, &c. XLI.

were ineffectual. He languish'd in this Misery a full Year, tho' not in the Extremity of it; in which space he began to reflect upon his unjust Cruelties to the *Christians*; and in great Hast consulting with *Constantine* then in *Gaul*, he commanded all Laws and Edicts against them to be abolish'd; and to that Effect sent his Letters and Decrees into all the Provinces of *Greece*, and into the *East*, where *Maximin* was Governour. Besides which he caus'd many *Christians* to be brought into his Presence, whom he desir'd and beseech'd to make Supplication to the true God for his Health and Recovery. But his Putrefaction still increasing, not long after the Publication of his Edict, he breath'd his last, having recommended his Wife and Son to *Licinius*, and put them into his Hands. This was the miserable End of *Galerius Maximian*, who in Conjunction with *Constantius*, makes the fortieth Emperor of Rome, after an impious Reign of near seven Years, two with *Constantius*, and almost five with *Constantine*; being a Prince who had done some Service, but greater Injury to the State, and by his barbarous Cruelties to the *Christians*, had drawn down the peculiar Vengeance of Heaven upon his Head. At his Death he left the Empire divided among four; *Constantine*, Emperor of *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Britain* and *Germany*; *Licinius*, his Successor and Emperor of the Provinces of *Illyricum* and *Greece*; *Maximin*, *Cæsar* and Governour of *Asia* and the *East*; and *Maxentius*, Usurper of *Italy* and *Africk*.

The Death of
Galerius.

III. *Licinius* was now generally acknowledg'd A. D. 311. Emperor in the Room of *Galerius*, and peaceably took upon him the same Provinces; while

Licinius succeeds Galerius in the Empire.

Constantine's
Expedition a-
gainst Max-
entius.

Constantine govern'd *Gaul* in his Provinces with great Success and Prosperity, tho' still continuing in the *Gentile* Religion. Having reign'd about six Years, he began to be highly concern'd for the City of *Rome*, which was miserably oppress'd by the intolerable Outrages and Insolencies daily committed by *Maxentius*; and being Solicited by an Embassy sent purposely to him by the Senate and People of *Rome*, he took up a Resolution worthy of so great a Mind, to march against Him, and free the City from the Tyrannies and Extravagancies of that Usurper. He was no sooner engag'd in this Expedition, but like a prudent Man began to think on some Assistance beyond the meer Strength and Courage of his Army; and knowing that there were many Deities at that time worshipp'd in the World, his first Care was, which of these to implore as his Protector and tutelar Guardian. He observ'd the fatal Miscarriages of his Predecessors, who had violently promoted the Multiplicity of Gods; and that notwithstanding their utmost Protections, their Wars had generally been unprosperous, and their Ends unfortunate and untimely: On the contrary, his Father who had acknowledg'd and ador'd only one God, had happily succeeded in his Undertaking; upon which Consideration he resolv'd to lay aside the vulgar Deities, and adhere to the God of his Father; to whom he humbly address'd himself, beseeching him to make himself known to him, and assist him in this Expedition. And Heaven heard his Prayer, and answer'd in a Manner so Miraculous, that *Eusebius* acknowledges, it wou'd not have been credible, if he had not receiv'd it from the Emperor's own Mouth, who solemnly ratify'd the Truth of it with his Oath. The Army was upon their March, and *Constantine* seriously

Licinius, &c. XLI.

ously employ'd in these devout Ejaculations, when the Sun declining, there suddenly appear'd a Pillar of Light in the Heavens, in the Fashion of a Cross, with this Inscription upon, or about it, ΤΟΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, *In this overcome.* This was a surprising Sight both to *Constantine* and his whole Army; and the Commanders and Officers prompted by their *Aruspices*, look'd upon it as an inauspicious Omen, portending a very unfortunate Expedition. But it made such a happy Impression upon the Emperor's Mind, that being further encouraged by Visions that Night, he caus'd the next Day a Royal Standard to be made like that which he had seen in the Heavens, and to be born before him in his Wars, as an Ensign of Victory and Safety; After which he consulted with several *Christian* Bishops, and by them was instructed in the principal Points of *Christianity*, resolving at leisure Hours to peruse the Holy Scriptures.

A miraculous Appearance.

Constantine with great Confidence and Assurance March'd through *Italy*, with an Army of about 90000 Foot and 8000 Horse; and notwithstanding all Opposition, he in a short Time advanc'd almost to the Walls of *Rome*, incamping his Army in a large Plain before the City. This formidable Approach somewhat rous'd *Maxentius*, who had given himself up to Ease and Luxury, as well as Charms and Inchantments, dividing his Hours between Pleasure and Superstition. He never went out of the City, and seldom out of his Palace; so extraordinary lazy, that to remove into the *Sallustian* Gardens, tho' to enjoy a fresh Scene of Pleasure, was accounted a Journey, and an Expedition, as a certain Orator justly jeers him.

But now he saw himself oblig'd to leave the City, therefore ply'd the Altars with various Sacrifices, and commanded the *Sibylline* Books to be search'd; and the Answer brought him, was, That this Day the great Enemy of *Rome* shou'd perish, which he understood of *Constantine*, and apply'd the Success to himself. So leaving all Things in the best Posture, he quitted the City, and advanc'd against *Constantine* with far more numerous Forces, his Army consisting of 170000 Foot, and 18000 Horse, a great Part of which being *Romans* and *Italians*, and having felt so much of his Tyranny, desir'd nothing more than to see him fall at the Enemies Foot. However the Engagement was fierce and bloody, till Victory having hover'd a while, rested on *Constantine's* Side; for the Enemies Cavalry being routed, the whole Army fled, and thinking to escape the nearest Way, by a Bridge of Boats, which *Maxentius* had built over the *Tyber*, and had contriv'd with secret Springs and Engines, purposely to drown *Constantine* if he pass'd that way, were caught in their own Snare: For the Engines giving Way, the Boats parted, and overpress'd with the Weight of the Company, sunk to the Bottom of the River, and *Maxentius* himself along with them, whose Body being found, his Head was stricken off, and carry'd upon a Pole before the Army. This was the deserved End of an impious Tyrant and Persecutor, after he had usurp'd and possess'd part of the Empire six Years.

The Defeat
'and Death of
Maxentius.

A. D.

312.

Constantine having obtain'd this noble Victory, with no great loss on his side, the Senators and People of *Rome*, with their Wives and Children, came out of the City to receive him; and with infinite Acclamations and Applauses, styl'd him their Father, their Saviour, and Author of all their Happiness.

Licinius, &c. XLI.

Happiness. In this Manner he was attended into Rome, with incredible Joy and Dilatation of Heart, every one resounding the Praises of this Emperor ; but he wou'd attribute nothing to his own Power or Policy, but all to God alone. And in the right Hand of all the Statues, that were erected to his Honour by Decree of Senate, he caus'd to be engraven the Figure of the Cross, with the same Inscription he had seen in the Heavens ; only in one he had an Inscription, intimating, *That under the Influence of that Victorious Cross, Constantine had deliver'd the City from the Yoke of Tyrannical Power, and had restor'd to the Senate and People of Rome their ancient Splendor and Glory.* And about this Time, we are told, that he commanded by publick Edict, that no Man for the future shou'd suffer the Death of the Cross ; which till now was lookt upon as most ignominious of all others. Setling all Affairs in Peace and good Order in the City, and making wise and just Laws and Ordinances, to show himself grateful for the Benefit he had receiv'd, he began to bestow many Favours and Gifts upon the *Christians*, gradually building them Churches and Places of Prayer, endowing them with Rents and Means for the Maintenance of the Priests and Ministers, with Necessaries and Ornaments for Divine Service ; all which were done by several wary Steps and Degrees. Shortly after his Victory, He and *Licinius*, to whom he marry'd his Sister *Constantia*, by one consent issu'd out their Decrees through all the Provinces and Cities of the Empire, commanding that the *Christians* shou'd be eas'd from all Grievances, made free, and receiv'd into all Offices and Places of Authority ; which now fi-

nish'd that great Persecution begun by *Dioclesian*, which had rag'd in several Parts of the Empire for ten Years. These Decrees being sent into the *East*, were likewise obey'd by *Maximin*, tho' much against his Inclinations, being a mortal Hater of the *Christians*. *Constantine* was now Lord of a large Part of the Empire, having increas'd his former Dominions by the Addition of all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and the Province of *Africk*; and now living in Peace and Prosperity, he made many new and advantageous Laws for the Good and Peace of the Publick. He also took great Care and Pains to reduce all Arts and Sciences to their ancient Perfection, highly honouring and encouraging such Masters as were excellent, who at this time were greatly decay'd and diminish'd. He busily employ'd himself in the most honourable Exercises, being frequently Reading, Writing and Indicting, and hearing of Embassies and Complaints, which were brought to him from several Provinces; and to all Men he shew'd himself very affable, mild, courteous and bountiful; so that his Enemies have been forc'd to acknowledge many Vertues and Excellencies in this Prince.

Maximin invades the Empire.

Constantine living in this Prosperity, *Maximin* who govern'd in the *East*, seeing himself rich and powerful, accounted it a Dishonour to him to be Inferior to *Licinius* or *Constantine*; and therefore assuming the Name of *Augustus* and Emperor, and revoking the Privileges granted to the *Christians*, he began to declare himself an Enemy, especially to *Licinius*, who commanded in the Provinces nearest to his. And knowing that *Licinius* was making Provisions against him, trusting to the Multitudes of his own Soldiers, he immediately march'd towards him, and began a severe War both by Sea and Land. After several Encounters and Conflicts,

Licinius, &c. XLI.

Conflicts, they both came to a general Battel, in which *Maximin's* numerous Troops were overthrown, and pursu'd with that Fury, that most of them were cut in Pieces, the rest all yielding themselves to *Licinius*. *Maximin* himself escaping by Flight, immediately chang'd his Habit, to prevent Discovery, till he cou'd arrive at a Place of Security. And imagining himself to have been deluded by his Magicians and *Pagan* Priests, he put many of them to Death; and trying all Methods to appease the divine Vengeance, he issu'd out his Degrees in favour of the *Christians*, allowing them Liberty to build Churches, and act as they thought fit. Having again levy'd considerable Forces, resolving to try his Fortunes in a second Battel, Heaven was pleas'd to frustrate all his Designs by his Death, first afflicting him with infinite Pains and Torments all over his Body, causing him to bite his Hands, and to cast himself from his Bed to the Floor; and this Torment continuing many Days, so that he cou'd neither eat, drink nor sleep, at length his Eyes started out of his Head, so that he dy'd raging and in Despair; confessing upon his Death-Bed, that all this was but a just Punishment upon him for his spiteful and virulent Proceedings against *Christ* and his Religion. This was the just and miserable Death of a bloody Tyrant, and one of the most barbarous Persecutors of the Church, by which Means the Churches in these Parts began exceedingly to flourish, and the *Christians* for the present enjoy'd a very serene and prosperous Season. *Constantine* and *Licinius* now remain'd sole Lords and Emperors of the *Roman* Dominions; only the latter met with some Opposition in the *East* by *Valeus*, whom

His Death.

whom the Army had made Emperor after the Death of *Maximin*. But *Licinius* soon put an End to his Life and Empire together; and being in full Possession of the *East*, he punish'd the Inchanters, Sorcerers, and the Ministers and Instruments of *Maximin's* Cruelty; and also caus'd his Sons to be slain whom he had made *Cæsars*. Not long after this, one *Alexander* a Commander in *Africk* rebell'd, and usurp'd the Name and Authority of Emperor; against whom *Constantine* sent an Army from *Rome*, which coming to an Engagement, *Alexander* was overthrown and slain: So that the whole Empire now remain'd peaceably under the Command of *Constantine* and *Licinius*. And tho' the Dignity of these two were equal, yet the Valour and Reputation of *Constantine* was far greater, and was much better belov'd and esteem'd by all Men than *Licinius*; remaining most commonly in *Rome*, administering Justice to all Men with Wisdom and Discretion, reading the Holy Scriptures, and daily enriching and propagating the Church of God.

The wicked
Practices of
Licinius.

Licinius who had hitherto dissembled with *Constantine* and the World, having now the whole *Eastern* Empire at his Command, began to shew himself in his proper Colours, heartily espousing the Cause of the *Pagans*, and by a Law expressly forbid the *Christian* Bishops to visit the Houses of the *Gentiles*, lest their intimate Converse might promote the Propagation of *Christianity* among them. But not satisfi'd with this, he took occasion to shew his utmost Malice, raising a most bloody Persecution against the *Christians*, whom he rigorously pursu'd with all possible Cruelties; So that the *East* and *West*, as *Eusebius* observes, seem'd like Night and Day, a dreadful Darkness over-spreading the former, while the latter enjoy'd all

Licinius, &c. XLI.

all the happy Sun-shine of Peace and Prosperity. He likewise made use of several treacherous Practices against the Person of *Constantine*, Whom he both envy'd and hated, contriving all Methods to destroy him. In Compassion to the *Christians* deplorable Condition, and to chastise the Monstrous Inconstancy and Ingratitude of *Licinius*, as well as his horrible Perfidiousness and Hypocrisie, whom no Tyes of Blood or Interest could oblige, *Constantine* resolv'd upon an Expedition against him. Great Preparations were made on both Sides, and the two Emperors and Armies meeting in *Pannonia* near *Cybalis*, a sharp Battel was fought between them, where notwithstanding *Licinius* made a brave Resistance, all his Forces were overthrown, and his Camp enter'd, he himself flying as far as the City of *Bizantium*. Where to relieve himself, and to strengthen his Interest and Authority, he made one of his Commanders call'd *Martian*, *Cæsar*, who was Master and Steward of his Household; and raising all the Forces he cou'd, he prepar'd for a second Battle. In the mean time *Constantine*, making his Sons *Crispus* and *Constantine* *Cæsars*, he seiz'd on the Provinces of *Dacia*, *Mæsia*, *Macedonia*, and others in *Europe*, which were Subject to *Licinius*. *Licinius* having now gather'd together a considerable Army renew'd the War, which prov'd very variable and expensive, till by the Intercession of his Wife *Constantia*, and Sister to *Constantine*, a Truce and Peace was made between them. But through the Envy and Malice of *Licinius*, the War broke out a second Time, which was carry'd on by Sea and Land with greater Power and Fury than ever. And both these Emperors and Rivals coming again to a general Battel, in the Province of *Bithynia*, whither

Licinius

Licinius had withdrawn himself, after vast Strugglings and Blood-shed, the Valour of *Constantine* prevail'd, and *Licinius* being entirely defeated, escap'd by Flight to *Nicomedia*, whither *Constantine* pursu'd and besieg'd him. Yet by the Means of his Wife *Constantia*, *Constantine* granted him his Life, upon Condition he Surrender'd himself, and agreed to lead a private and obscure Life. We are told that *Constantine* confirm'd these Conditions by Oath, and sent *Licinius* to *Thessalonica*; but afterwards fearing a new Rebellion, or rather finding him actually engag'd, he commanded him to be put to Death, together with *Martian* whom he had made *Cæsar*: For which Act *Constantine* was blam'd by some Authors, and excus'd by Others. This was the fatal End of *Licinius*, who with *Constantine*, may be call'd the 41st Emperor of *Rome*, after a wicked Reign of thirteen Years after the Death of his true Predecessor *Galerius*; being a Prince not only blam'd for his great Ignorance in Learning, which he call'd a publick Pest, but also justly branded with his great Cruelties, Incontinence and Avarice. This hapned in the 18th Year of the Reign of *Constantine*, the 1077th of the City, and 323^d of our Saviour.

The Death of
Licinius.

A. D. 323. IV. The Defeat and Death of *Licinius*, gave *Constantine* full Power and Authority, and made him sole Monarch of the *Roman* Empire; his Reign being for some Space attended with an universal Peace and Security, *Christianity* and all Arts daily flourishing and encreasing. He was generally belov'd, and much honour'd by his Subjects, for his Justice and Clemency; and no less dreaded by the barbarous Nations, for his Conduct and Valour: But was most of all esteem'd and admir'd by the *Christians* in all Nations, whose Affairs he now promoted with greater Vigour than ever. He bestow'd many

many extraordinary Benefits, Privileges and Donatives upon the Bishops and Churches, and generally upon all *Christians*, entirely abolishing all Laws and Edicts, that had ever been made to their Prejudice; and he issu'd out special Edicts, commanding that no more Temples shou'd be built to the Honour of any *Pagan* God. He also commanded that in all the Provinces of the Empire, the Orders of the Bishops shou'd be exactly observ'd; and to such as wanted a Competency for Subsistence, he assign'd Goods and Rents to maintain them during their Lives. He not only took Care for the *Christians* in the Empire, but us'd such Methods by his Ambassadors and Otherwise, that in *Persia* and other Countries, they were not oppress'd, as formerly; so that the Gospel was encourag'd and propagat'd in many Parts of the World, by the Means and Methods of this mighty Emperor. But in this great Prosperity of the Church, its Peace was highly disturb'd, and its Purity dangerously corrupted by the Errors and Heresies of the famous *Arius*, a Priest in *Alexandria*, which in nine or ten Years Time, became so popular and prevalent in many Provinces, that the Emperor himself was oblig'd to interpose, and make use of extraordinary Remedies for this Infection. In order to which, he resolv'd to call in the Assistance of the whole *Christian* Church; and thereupon issu'd out his Letters into all Parts of the *Christian* World, summoning the Bishops and Clergy to meet at an Appointed Day at *Nice*, the Metropolis of *Bithynia* in the lesser *Asia*; and this was the first general Council establish'd by human Laws since our Saviours Nativity. To this Place repaired about three hundred and eighteen Bishops, besides an innumerable company of Presbyters and Deacons, together with the Emperor himself in great Pomp; all which

Number,

The first general Council at Nice.

A. D. 325.

Number, except about seventeen, unanimously Condemned the Heresie of *Arius*, who was thereupon banish'd together with his Associates.

In the same Year *Constantine* conferr'd the Dignity of *Cæsar* upon his Son *Constantius*, who was the second he had by *Fausta*, and sent him into *Gaul* to defend that Province against the barbarous Nations. He likewise celebrated his *Vicennalia*, or twentieth Year of his Reign, both at *Nicomedia* and *Rome*; and made many new Regulations in the Laws and State, restraining the Exorbitancies of Usury, and many other Inconveniencies. And whereas several Complaints were made against his Favourites and particular Friends, he publish'd an Edict this Year, allowing and inviting any one to come freely and accuse them, promising Rewards to those who made Good their Accusations, concluding his Edict with a most religious Protestation of his Sincerity. But notwithstanding his worthy Administration, we are told, that about this Time, he did some Acts which gave Opportunity to his Enemies much to blacken his Reputation; which were his putting to Death his Son *Crispus*, and his Empress *Fausta*, with some other Friends: And these, according to the most probable Accounts, were occasion'd first by the Empress's falling in Love with her Son-in-Law *Crispus*, who finding his Vertue equal to his Beauty, and impregnable against all her Solicitations, partly through Rage and Disappointment, and partly to secure the Succession of her own Sons, accus'd him to the Emperor of Violence to her Honour, and procur'd his Death. But the Emperor soon after finding out her Treachery, and himself notoriously abus'd, commanded her to be put to Death, with some others that joyn'd with her in her impious Projects. Some Authors wholly deny this Story, and

*Crispus and
Fausta put to
Death.*

and that *Crispus* and *Fausta* were ever put to Death; but a greater Number assure us that they did suffer, tho' some of them are unsatisfi'd about the Occasion, declaring that the Causes were secret and unknown. *Constantine* was soon diverted from these domestick Troubles by dangerous Irruptions of the *Sarmations* and *Scythians*, against whom he made great Preparations; and building a Stone Bridge over the River *Danube* for his Conveniency, he fought several Battels with these People, and reduc'd them, and likewise the *Goths* not long after to Obedience.

Constantine having now restor'd perfect Peace and Tranquility to the *Roman* Empire, took up a Resolution of transferring the Seat of the Empire to some other Place: Whether it was, because he was offended at the Affronts of the People of *Rome*, when at a certain Festival he spake contemptibly of those sacred Rites, as *Zozimus* reports it; or whether, because he wou'd not honour that Place with his Court, which for several Ages had been the chief Stage of Idolatry, and Scene of Martyrdom and Persecution; or whether, because he thought the *Eastern* Parts more requir'd his Presence to defend them, not only against the Incroachments of the *Persians*, but against the Inroads of the *Northern* Nations, which at that time usually broke in about those Parts; or whatsoever else the Occasion was, it was certainly a Policy very fatal and unfortunate to the Empire. After many Consultations, he fix'd upon *Bizantium*, a City of *Thrace*, Situated upon the *Isthmus*, or Neck of the *Hellspont*, between *Europe* and *Asia*, a Place which Nature seem'd to have form'd, on purpose to command the World. He re-edify'd and enlarg'd this City, beautifying it with most Stately and Magnificent Buildings, and all the several Ornaments which

Art

Constantine
removes the
Imperial Seat
to Bizantium.
A. D. 330.

Art cou'd invent, or Wealth cou'd purchase, or any curious Piece of Antiquity, which *Rome* or any other Part cou'd furnish. He likewise endow'd it with vast Privileges and Immunities, peopled it with the best Families he cou'd draw from *Rome*, or other Places in the Empire; and by a Law engraven upon a Stone Pillar, and plac'd in the *Strategium*, near the Emperor's Statue on Horseback, he commanded that this City shou'd be call'd *NEW-ROME*; tho, notwithstanding this Edict, it retains the Honour of his Name, being call'd *Constantinople* to this Day. The Foundation was laid in the 23^d Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 328. and finish'd and dedicated about two Years after; at which Time the Emperor repair'd to it, and settled there with all his Court, making it the Imperial Seat, as was also observ'd by all his Successors. This made a great Alteration and different Circulation in the Body Politick; for the Empire which before had been declining by its old Age, grievously distemper'd by inward Heats and Distractions, and labouring under so vast a Bulk and *Plethora* as Nature cou'd not govern, being forc'd as it were by *Constantine* to change its natural, suitable and native Air, by so violent an Alteration it contracted its Mortal Infirmity. And the Empire by this means being sometimes divided by a Kind of Necessity, it so far declin'd, that about 146 Years after, all the *Western* Parts were torn in Pieces and Destroy'd by the barbarous Nations, and *Italy* and *Rome* its self pillag'd and intirely possess'd by the *Goths*.

This great Alteration of the Removal of the Imperial Seat, was made in the 25th Year of this Emperor's Reign, and the 1084th from the Building of *Rome*, 372 Years after the Beginning of the Empire under *Julius Cæsar*, 355 after the full Settlement

clement of it by *Augustus*, 330 after our Saviours
 Nativity, 234 after the last of the twelve *Cæsars*,
 213 after the Death of *Trajan*, when the Empire
 was in the greatest Extent, 137 after the publick
 Sale of the Empire, 71 after the Beginning of the
 thirty Tyrants, and about seven before the Death
 of *Constantine*. He also new modell'd the Empire,
 dividing it into four Quarters, over which were
 four principal Governours call'd *Prætorian Præ-*
fects. These contain'd 14 Diocesses, each govern'd
 by a *Vicarius* or Lieutenant under the *Præfects*, re-
 siding at the Metropolis of the Diocess; and the
 Diocesses were divided into 120 Provinces, each
 rul'd by a *President* residing at the chief City of the
 Province. In many other Cities was an Officer call'd
Defensor Civitatis, in each of which was a Bishop,
 in every chief City of a Province was an Arch-
 bishop, and the chief City of a Diocess a Patriarch.
 The Diocesses were as following. 1. *Britain*, now
England and part of *Scotland*, divided into 5 Provin-
 ces. 2. *Gaul*, containing the Modern *France*, part
 of the *Low-countries*, *Germany* and *Italy*, and divided
 into 17 Provinces. 3. *Hispania*, containing the Mo-
 dern *Spain*, *Portugal*, and Part of *Barbary*, and di-
 vided into 7 Provinces. These Three made up
 one of the four Parts of the Empire, rul'd by that
Præfect call'd *Præfectus-Prætorio Galliarum*. 4. *Italy*,
 containing about half the Modern *Italy*, with part
 of *Switzerland*, and divided into 7 Provinces. 5. *Rome*,
 containing the rest of the Modern *Italy* with the
 Islands, and divided into 10 Provinces. 6. *Africa*,
 containing the greatest Part of the Modern *Barba-*
ry, and divided into 6 Provinces. These three
 made another of the four Parts of the Empire, and
 rul'd by the *Præfectus-Prætorio Italiae*; to which Pre-
 fecture was afterwards added the Diocess of 7. *Illy-*
ricum, containing the Modern *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*,
Bosnia,

Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, with part of Germany, and was divided into 7 Provinces. 8. Dacia, containing the Modern Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Servia, and part of Bulgaria, and divided into 5 Provinces. 9. Macedonia or Greece, containing the Modern Macedonia, Fanna, Canina, Livadia, Morea, and part of Albania, and divided into seven Provinces. These three made another of the four Parts, rul'd by the *Præfectus-Prætorio Illyrici*. 10. Thrace, containing the Modern Romania, and Part of Bulgaria, and divided into 6 Provinces. 11. Pontus, containing near half the Modern Natolia, and divided into 11 Provinces. 12. Asia, containing most of the rest of the Modern Natolia, and divided into 11 Provinces. 13. The Orient, containing all the Modern Soria, the Holy Land, Diarbeck, with Part of Natolia and Arabia, and divided into 15 Provinces. 14. Egypt, containing all the Modern Egypt, with Part of Barbary, and divided into 6 Provinces. These five Diocesses made up the last and greatest of the four Parts of the Empire, and was govern'd by the *Præfectus-Prætorio Orientis*.

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ERRATA.

PAGE 11. in the Margin. for second, r. fourth, p. 19 l. 6. for Chutzi r. Chatti, p. 29. l. 17. for a Hog, r. his Hog, p. 41 l. 6. for chang'd, r. hang'd, p. 67 l. 13. r. imminent, p. 82 l. 16. for his most, r. the most, p. 86 l. 23. r. divorcing, p. 105 l. 21. r. Gallick, p. 177 l. 9. for or r. ar, p. 185 l. 6. r. profuse, p. 211 l. 34. r. Room, p. 236 l. 23. r. Caspers, p. 311 l. 4. r. Western, p. 375 l. 6. r. who ought, p. 376 l. 1. for 89th r. 69th, p. 386 l. 3. r. dozeling, p. 395 l. 10. r. his Actions, p. 398 l. 31. for Sexenius, r. Perceinus, p. 404 l. 11. last, for went, r. was, p. 431 l. 24. r. wofe, p. 433 l. 24. r. Pallas, p. 449 l. 25. r. Lands, p. 467 l. 27. r. retirew, p. 470 l. 15. r. Promotion, p. 493 l. 12. for nine r. misse, p. 500 l. 20. r. Dalmatia, p. 502 l. 33. for and, r. and, p. 504 l. last r. presented, p. 523 l. 25. r. at these, p. 546 l. 23. r. Indiscretion.

FINIS.

